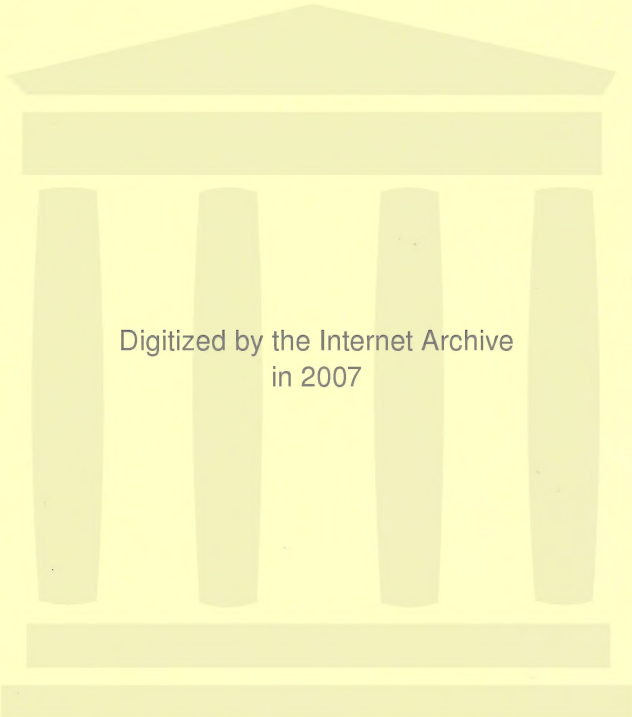




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A CRITICISM OF SYSTEMS OF HEBREW METRE

AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE

By WILLIAM HENRY COBB

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INTRODUCTION

THE time required to read the books worth reading so greatly exceeds the reading-time in any man's life, that each new book is properly challenged to show its importance and its freshness. It will not be denied that a system of Hebrew metre is important if true; for at the present moment, the whole field of Hebrew literature is in unstable equilibrium; to nothing fixed but love of change. There are many who assert and many who deny the value of metrical analysis as an aid in critical investigation of the original text; of the former class, there are various schools to be considered, each finding plausible reasons in favour of its position against all the others. The sublime confidence of the typical Metriker in his own statements of fact, which contradict his neighbour's statements regarding the same passage and even the same verse, is quite explicable when one remembers Legree's dictum in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 'I do the weighing.' Surely here, if anywhere, there is a call for level-headed judgement, that is, criticism; not necessarily condemnation, but the separation of the chaff from the wheat, and the judicial deciding among the doctors who disagree. If Englishmen and Americans have been somewhat backward in propounding theories, they may come forward with better grace in the rôle of Daniel. Germany as usual takes the lead in attempting to solve the problems before us; her scholars, from Gomarus in the seventeenth century, through Leutwein in the eighteenth, and Ley in the nineteenth, to

Sievers in the twentieth, have put forth their brilliant and varied schemes for reducing Hebrew poetry to a versified form; of late years, America has published contributions, bearing on the same subject, by Professors Briggs, Brown, Arnold, Haupt, and others; but no English or American system of Hebrew metre has appeared since the days of Bishop Lowth, who held that no system was practicable. I do not forget Sir William Jones and his (Latin) commentaries on Asiatic poetry; but these could hardly be considered as forming a system.

Lowth and others after him ventured to assert that all possible solutions of the problem had already been proposed. There is a curious similarity in the language, upon this point, of Lowth (1753), De Wette (1811), Ewald (1835), Budde (1874), and Kuenen (German edition, 1894), but the event has proved them all mistaken. It is well to call attention to the second challenge above mentioned; a system must not only be important, but fresh. Never were truer words spoken than those of the Scotch teacher, John Henderson: 'More men become writers from ignorance than from knowledge, not knowing that they have been anticipated. Let us decide with caution and write late.' A typical instance in point may be given here as well as anywhere. When Professor Karl Budde, abandoning an earlier scepticism, presented in 1882 his well-known *kind* theory, he remarked that this particular form had been noticed in a general way by Lowth, &c., but that Keil (in Hävernick's Introduction, 1849) was the first to describe it correctly as marked by three tones plus two. And yet Bellermann (*Versuch über die Metrik der Hebräer*, 1813, p. 137) has the following remark on the third chapter of the book of Lamentations: 'Something characteristic appears in this lamentation, namely, that the second hemistich consists fifty times of only two feet, while the first hemistich regularly numbers three of them. Because

of this significant preponderance, I would call this elegy *five-footed*¹.

The reader will observe that Budde mentions Lowth. Now Rosenmüller's edition of Lowth (1815, p. 565) refers to this very passage in Bellermann, and that is the edition commonly used in Germany. But we shall find eventually that Bellermann has been too much neglected by others also who have unconsciously depended on him. In the case of Budde himself, the oversight just noted is more than balanced by the frank confession which he makes in the article 'Poetry (Hebrew),' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and which I take pleasure in quoting: 'We have here to do with a subject akin to mathematics, a subject giving scope for playing with numbers. It is a fact perhaps too little observed, that all departments of study akin to this offer a special incentive to the ingenuity. One need only recall the subject of Chronology. One must have at some time gone deeply for himself into the subject of Hebrew metre and triumphed over the temptation to lose oneself there, before he can understand the attraction wielded by such speculations. Since the present writer has had this experience he has no finished metrical system to offer, nor can he attach himself unreservedly to any of the others that have been proposed, although he cheerfully concedes that to each of the above-named champions of metre we are indebted for much stimulus and help.'

On the title-page of this volume I have called attention to its elementary character. For a comprehensive treatise on Hebrew metre, that will endure every scientific test, we still wait; we must probably wait long. Meanwhile, let us heartily second the suggestion of Professor Hubert Grimme (*Psalmprobleme*, 1902, p. viii): 'In my view, the welfare of the young science of biblical metrics is to be found in special

¹ I return to this matter on p. 107.

investigation rather than in broad, systematic effusions'; and let us hope that one or more competent scholars will be able to devote to these subjects as many years of conscientious labour as Westphal gave to kindred researches. It cannot be amiss, even now, to take one's bearings in the sea of controversy, and present to the best of one's ability the state of the question. If it be objected that this very thing has lately been done by Schlögl and by Döller (both in 1899), and by König in his *Stilistik* (1900); if it be added that the entire material was thrashed out a dozen years ago by no less a critic than Kuenen himself in his *Einleitung*; there are three replies to make. First, these works, except the last-named, are very little known in England or America; next, some of the best investigations have appeared since the death of Kuenen; and lastly, his method is reversed in the present treatise, which instead of holding up the defects of each successive theory, attempts to find the merits, and by combining results, to indicate how far we have gone. Of course, the two methods imply each other; the extrication of what is true involves the ascertainment of what is untrue; but the difference in emphasis is no slight matter. In the attempt to be fair to each author, I assume that when a system of Hebrew metre has been carefully wrought out by a competent scholar, then, to use a common phrase, 'there is something in it'; and what that is, it is our business to find. The ideal aimed at is a patient induction of the facts accessible, a sound deduction of the principles involved, and an unbiassed application of those principles to the theories under review. Every theory accounts for some facts; a plausible theory accounts for most of the facts; the true theory when found will take in all of the facts naturally; hence it is to be reached by a positive rather than a negative process.

The reader of this book is supposed to know three

things; Hebrew, English, and poetry. Outside of these bounds he is not asked to travel. It would have been easy to give the work a more learned look by discussing, for example, the Assyrian parallels noted in 1884 by Ernest Budge, in 1895 by Hermann Gunkel, and in 1896 by Delitzsch and Zimmern¹. But supposing these Assyriologists to have made out their case, it has only predisposed us to expect something similar in Hebrew; that bias is immediately overcome if we do not find it; so why not let the Hebrew stand on its own bottom? As things are now, to draw inferences of this sort from one Semitic tongue to another is to do what the late Mr. John Fiske called guessing at half the truth and multiplying it by two. On the other hand, a thorough knowledge of Hebrew cannot be dispensed with. A selected list of metrical passages may suffice to deduce certain general principles, but can never establish a science. Still less can we rely on transliterations alone. If the reader fancies that he knows Hebrew when he can read *‘āṣōḥīm* and not עֲצוּחִים he is only deceiving himself.

What I mean by a knowledge of English includes its development as well as its latest forms. Suffice it for the present to observe that when any given species of rhythm is both common and proper throughout the history of English verse, it will not be necessary to alter a Hebrew text on account of the same phenomenon there.

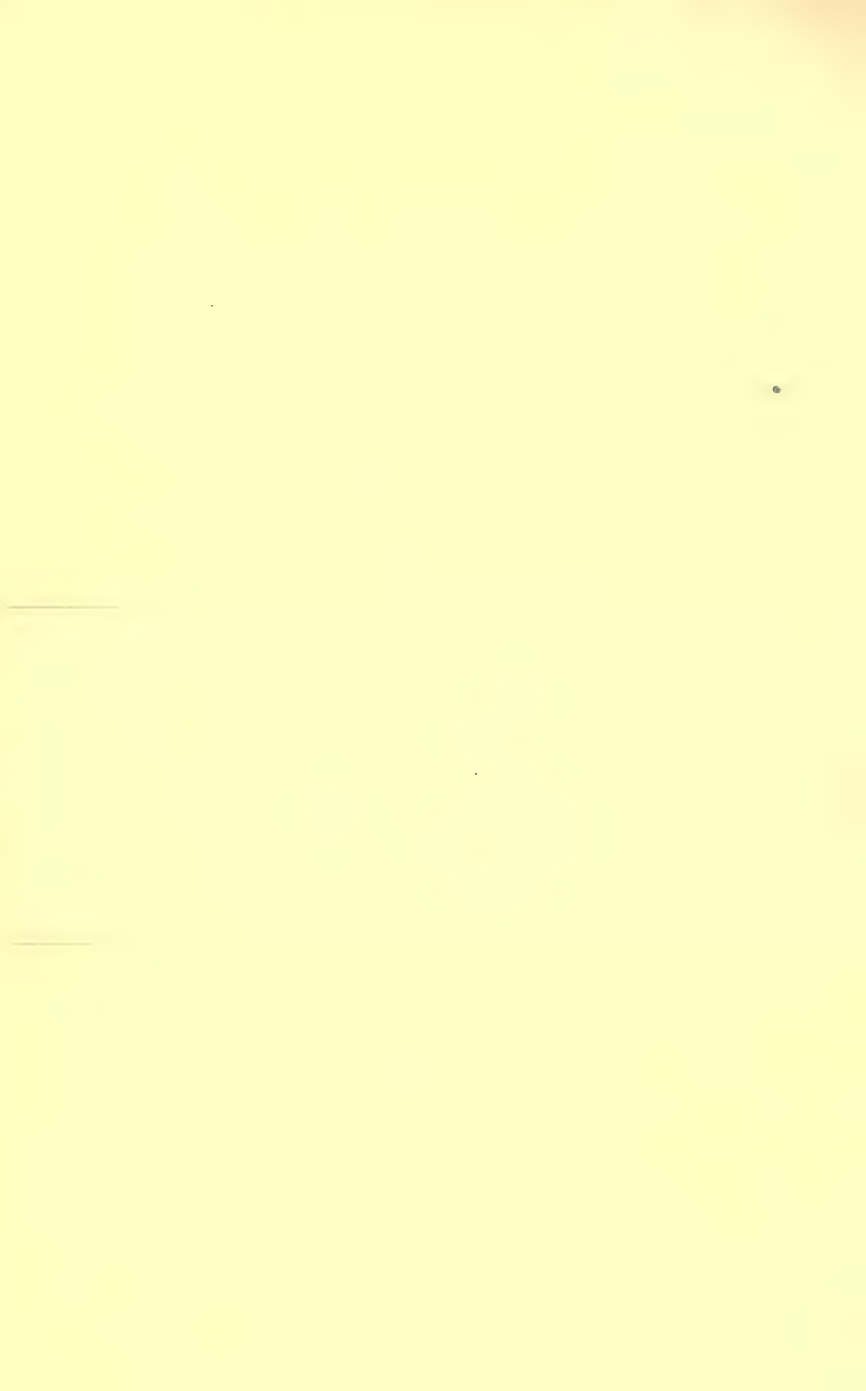
The third requisite is as essential and rare as either of the others; a knowledge of poetry. Poetry differs from prose—both as to form and substance—only in degree, not in kind. But differ it does, and many a plausible emendation shatters against this rock. It is strange to what lengths some have gone in the process of transforming the noble poetry of the Old Testament into the rudest prose, making thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley.

¹ Cf. D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten* (1896), part i, sec. 1.

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A CRITICISM
OF
SYSTEMS OF HEBREW METRE



CHAPTER I

INDUCTIVE

AT the outset of our investigation, the field is equally open to all theories. Hebrew poetry may be wholly metrical, or wholly non-metrical, or partly the one and partly the other. It may be rhythmical rather than metrical—as a whole, or in spots. It may be strophic now and then, or entirely; again, it may not be strophic at all. Criticism is perhaps able, perhaps unable, to certify to us a purer text, which may have been more truly metrical, or even less so, than that which the Massoretes have delivered. Finally, the facts may warrant nothing but an agnostic position on some or all of these points. Our science is not so young, but that eminent names could be cited as authorities for these various hypotheses.

I follow the method already outlined, and invite examination of certain outstanding facts, before passing to consider what men have thought about them. The umpire in each case must be the reader's own intelligent judgement. Doth not the ear try words as the mouth tasteth meat? We look for our facts in the most likely place, namely, in the Book of Psalms. Some of these, as the alphabetical psalms and the pilgrim psalms of Book V, and all the psalms of Book I, have been so fought over in metrical contests that the smoke of battle might obscure their natural scansion. We turn, then, to the middle books, and since criticism must start from the received text, we will take it as it stands, for the present, reading for the sense as we would read a passage

of Shakespeare; that is to say, pronouncing it like prose, in the main, and giving to the various words and clauses such emphasis, or lack of it, as will serve to bring out most clearly the author's meaning. We have no concern with the so-called poetical accents, for our objective point is reading, not cantillation. As to the most recent school of criticism, represented in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, which changes the received text very materially, however much it interests us, we must maintain a neutral attitude, for we cannot fail to perceive that the systems of Hebrew metre to be reviewed have not built upon this foundation; indeed, there has not been time, as yet, for such a connexion to manifest itself in any considerable degree. But there is a fair justification for the attempt to show to what extent the text, as fixed by the Massoretes, possessed a metrical character; and as Lachmann founded modern New Testament criticism by pursuing rigidly the inquiry 'What was the text of the fourth century?' so we may hope to further the study of Old Testament metrics by confining attention at first to the Psalter as it has come down to us. Let us begin with a few of the shortest Psalms, 54, 67, 82, 100, omitting 43, which belongs with 42, and also 53, which is practically equivalent to 14 in Book I.

Psalm 54.

- 3 אֱלֹהִים בְּשֵׁמֶךְ הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי | וּבִגְבוּרַתְךָ תְּדִינֵנִי :
- 4 אֱלֹהִים שְׁמַע תְּפִלָּתִי | הָאֲוִינָה לֵאמֹרִי פִי :
- 5 כִּי זָרִים קָמוּ עָלַי | וְעֹרִיצִים בִּקְשׁוּ נַפְשִׁי | לֹא שְׁמוּ אֱלֹהִים לִנְגָדָם :
- 6 הִנֵּה אֱלֹהִים עֹזר לִי | אֲדַנִּי בַסֶּמֶכִי נַפְשִׁי :
- 7 יָשׁוּב הָרַע לַשָּׂרִיר | בְּאַמְתָּךְ הַצְמִיחָם :
- 8 בִּנְדָבָה אֲזַבְחָה לָךְ | אֲדָה שִׁמְךָ יְהוָה כִּי טוֹב :
- 9 כִּי מָלַל צָרָה הִצִּילָנִי | וּבִאֵיבִי רִאֲתָה עֵינִי :

It is earnestly enjoined upon the reader to depend upon his ear even more than upon his eye; to practise reciting the Psalms aloud until there is no hesitancy in pronouncing the Hebrew. When that point is reached in the 54th Psalm, it will be noticed that the poem flows smoothly and regularly. The cesura separates each line into equal groups (stichoi) of three feet¹, marked in every case by three tones or accents, two of these groups making a Massoretic verse, save that verse 5 has three groups. In Ginsburg's edition (London, 1894), whose text I follow throughout, each stichos has a separate line. The movement within the group is from unaccented to accented syllables. We should not use the term iambic or anapaestic, as these relate to quantitative systems; such terms should be reserved for the highly organized poetry of the ancient Greeks and Romans, whereas this psalm seems to resemble modern poetry in moving from stress to stress, the syllables having no constant value with reference to the accent. Compare the consecutive syllables פִּי and כִּי, vv. 4, 5; also יִי and יִי, ver. 9; לִי ver. 4 with לִי ver. 9. As the first two verses constitute the (prose) title, we begin with ver. 3. The scheme is as follows, letting x represent an unaccented and / an accented syllable. Provisionally, though with a few exceptions, I consider as a syllable the vocal sh'va, simple or compound; a disputed point, to which we shall return later.

Ver. 3. אֱלֹהִים בְּשֵׁמֶךְ הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי וּבִגְבוּרַתְךָ תְּרִינֵנִי :

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \times & / & \times & \times & | & / & \times & \times & | & / & \times & \times & || & \times & / & \times & \times & | & / & \times & \times & | & / & \times & \times \\ 6 & & 5 & & 4 & & 3 & & 2 & & 1 & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & \end{array}$$

Several things are worthy of notice here. First, the exact correspondence, in every foot, of the two half verses; as a geometer would say, if *A* is applied to *B*, they coincide

¹ It is convenient to retain this word (feet), if we understand it to refer to metrical, not syllabic, divisions.

throughout their whole extent. Second, the identical rime at the end of the corresponding feet, 2 and 5. Third, the true rime in 3 and 6. Fourth, the additional syllable occurring at precisely the same point in 3 and 6. This last gives testimony, as far as it goes, against the view that there is an exact alternation of successive syllables, and in favour of the view that Hebrew poetry was sometimes scanned like English poetry. For the following represents precisely the form of the Hebrew; or, if one takes the other side of the above 'disputed point,' he is at liberty to omit the first word.

O my God, by thy name now redeem me,
 $\times \quad \times \quad \text{—} \quad | \quad \times \quad \times \quad \text{—} \quad | \quad \times \quad \times \quad \text{—} \quad \times \quad ||$
1 2 3

And by all thine omnipotence free me.
 $\times \quad \times \quad \text{—} \quad | \quad \times \quad \times \quad \text{—} \quad | \quad \times \quad \times \quad \text{—} \quad \times$
4 5 6

The rime is imperfect, though less perfect ones often occur in our best poems. Every other metrical test is satisfied, and in the Hebrew the rime also is perfect. Those who distinguish between rhythm and metre will have to admit that the above comes under both heads. If the question arises whether this may not be a case of accidental metre, we should reflect on the large number of particulars that concur to produce the result; we should remember too that the Psalms are at all events poetical, whether or not we can discover their poetical form; so that the matter is very different from an accidental hexameter in the New Testament, for instance. To get a genuine parallel, we should imagine the English distich just given to be found in a volume of English poetry; every one would say that the metrical form was intentional, even though it might differ from other forms in its neighbourhood. We are ready now to pass to

Ver. 4. אֱלֹהִים שְׁמַע תְּפִלָּתִי הָאוֹנֶה לְאִמְרֵי־פִי:
6 5 4 3 2 1

$\text{—} \quad \times \quad | \quad \text{—} \quad \times \quad | \quad \times \quad \text{—} \quad \times \quad \times \quad || \quad \text{—} \quad \times \quad \times \quad \times \quad | \quad \text{—} \quad \times \quad | \quad \text{—} \quad \times \quad \times$
6 5 4 3 2 1

Note first the resemblances, then the differences. There are six feet as before, and the one cesura comes in the middle. The movement in each foot also is from weak to strong tones, the accent falling mainly on the ultima. Here too there is a perfect rime, and at the same point, the close of the third and of the sixth foot, פִּי, תִּי.

But the two halves do not coincide through their whole extent. The second foot agrees with the fifth, but the first is shorter than the fourth, while the third is longer than the sixth. When we come to interpret such facts we must be cautious, for too large inferences are drawn from them by opposite schools, the one claiming that the attempt to find metre has failed, the other that it is vindicated, since only the tones are to be counted, not the toneless syllables. We must carry our induction much farther before it will bear the weight of either of these general statements.

Ver. 5. כִּי זָרִים קָמוּ עָלַי וְעָרִיצִים בָּקְשׁוּ נַפְשִׁי

$\frac{\text{—}}{6} \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{5} \times \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{4} \times \times \times \parallel \frac{\text{—}}{3} \times \mid \times \frac{\text{—}}{2} \mid \frac{\text{—}}{1} \times \times$

לֹא שְׁמוֹ אֱלֹהִים לִנְגֹדָם :

$\frac{\text{—}}{9} \times \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{8} \times \times \mid \times \frac{\text{—}}{7} \times \mid$

Here are two cesuras, dividing the nine feet into three threes, each foot as before bearing one accent. But the variations are growing. Two novelties appear; what corresponds to a trochee in the second foot, and to an amphibrach in the seventh, though we must avoid those terms. The accent at the close of the first foot is immediately followed by one at the beginning of the second. Such a consecution of accents is a thing so abhorrent to some metricians that they change the text regularly to avoid it. We simply note the fact without comment at present. The verse contains no

rime, the vowels in 3 and 6 being different; both vowels and consonants in 9 differ from 3 and 6. If the three feet are laid over each other, they should coincide as follows: 1 with 4 and 7, 2 with 5 and 8, 3 with 6 and 9. Only one out of these nine expected coincidences occurs, namely 3 with 6. Once more it will be averred that the evidence is eight to one against any metre here; and once more it will be replied that the thing measured may be tones or times instead of syllables, and that rime is only occasional and accidental.

Ver. 6. הנה אלהים עזר לי ארני בסמכי נפשי
 $\frac{\text{—}}{6} \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{5} \times \times \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{4} \times \times \parallel \frac{\text{—}}{3} \times \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{2} \times \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{1} \times$

The rime has returned, and in the same place, *לִי, שִׁי*. Also, the cesura separates the two three-toned groups, with each foot accented at the end. On the other hand, not a single foot corresponds syllabically to its mate; $1 < 4$, $2 < 5$, $3 > 6$. Our induction is leading us to discard the syllable as a unit of measure, provided we regard the psalm as metrical at all.

Ver. 7. ישוב הרע לשרי באמתך הצמיתם:
 $\frac{\text{—}}{6} \times \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{5} \times \times \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{4} \parallel \frac{\text{—}}{3} \times \times \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{2} \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{1} \times$

A very rough specimen. Not only is this verse like the previous one in that all the correspondences fail, but the fourth foot consists of a single accented syllable, and that very accent immediately follows another accent; although, to be sure, the strong pause of the cesura intervenes. Whether such peculiarities are fatal to the metrical character of the poem is a fair question.

Ver. 8. בנדבה אובח-הלך ארה שמך יהוה כרמב
 $\frac{\text{—}}{6} \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{5} \times \mid \frac{\text{—}}{4} \times \times \times \parallel \frac{\text{—}}{3} \mid \times \times \frac{\text{—}}{2} \mid \times \frac{\text{—}}{1} \times$

For the third time in succession all the correspondences fail; the line is even rougher than its predecessor. Of the six feet, not one is the same in syllabic character with any foot in the model ver. 3. Yet it may be that the verses agree metrically in more important respects than those in which they differ. Patient investigation must be the watchword still.

Ver. 9. כִּי מִבֶּל צָרָה הִצִּילֵנִי וּבְאִיבִי רָאֲתָה עֵינִי

$$\frac{1}{x} \mid \frac{1}{x^2} \mid \frac{1}{x^3} \mid \mid x \frac{1}{x^2} \mid \frac{1}{x} \mid \frac{1}{x^2}$$

The form here comes very close to that in ver. 4; two transpositions make it precisely the same. But again the correspondences all fail when the two halves are applied to each other. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that every verse in the psalm is like every other in these particulars: (*a*) the number of feet is a multiple of 3; (*b*) there is a cesura at every third foot; (*c*) the general movement, musically regarded, is triple time, not double or quadruple (this refers to the inner structure of the foot, not to the number of feet in a stichos); (*d*) the time occupied in pronouncing each foot is either exactly or approximately the same, we will not as yet decide which.

Now that we have gone through the whole psalm, it is proper to institute the general inquiry whether parallels for the variations we have found may be discovered among the poets in good and regular standing in our own literature. These variations may be classed as follows. (As we are dealing chiefly with English, we will read hereafter from left to right.)

Taking $\times \times \angle$ as the normal foot, we find seven differences which I will give in the order of their occurrence.

(1) $\times \times \frac{!}{\times}$, (2) $\times \frac{!}{\cdot}$, (3) $\times \times \times \frac{!}{\cdot}$, (4) $\frac{!}{\cdot} \times$.
 (5) $\times \frac{!}{\cdot} \times$, (6) $\frac{!}{\cdot}$, (7) $\frac{!}{\cdot} \times \times$.

Five of these seven appear in one of the most exquisite

short poems in our language, familiar and precious to all of English stock.

- 1 Break, break, break,
- 2 On thy cold, gray stones, O Sea!
- 3 And I would that my tongue could utter
- 4 The thoughts that arise in me.
- 5 O, well for the fisherman's boy,
- 6 That he shouts with his sister at play!
- 7 O, well for the sailor lad,
- 8 That he sings in his boat on the bay!
- 9 And the stately ships go on
- 10 To their haven under the hill;
- 11 But O for the touch of a vanished hand,
- 12 And the sound of a voice that is still!
- 13 Break, break, break,
- 14 At the foot of thy crags, O Sea!
- 15 But the tender grace of a day that is dead
- 16 Will never come back to me.

Of these sixteen lines, all are in triple time, and all have three feet, except 11 and 15, which have four. The typical foot is that of our psalm, $\times \times \text{—}$, which occurs four times in the first stanza; typical lines are 8 and 12, whose feet are wholly of this form. But the first variation, $\times \times \text{—} \times$, is plainly found in line 6:

	<i>with his sister at play</i>
not	<i>with his sis -ter at play.</i>

Line 5, too, reads more smoothly thus:

	<i>for the fisher -man's boy,</i>
than thus:	<i>for the fish -erman's boy.</i>

One more case is in line 10:

*to their haven*¹.

¹ If it is objected that the syllable-count remains the same in the three ires last quoted, however they are divided, whereas $\times \times \text{—} \times$ in Ps. 54. 3

No. 2, $\times \text{—}$, is very common; twice each in lines 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 16. Wherever in English poetry we meet the foot $\times \times \text{—}$, we are apt to find mingled with it $\times \text{—}$. No. 4, $\text{—} \times$, occurs in line 10 (*under*); No. 5, $\times \text{—} \times$, in lines 3 (*could utter*) and 16 (*will never*); No. 6, — , in lines 1 and 13.

Although No. 3, $\times \times \times \text{—}$, and No. 7, $\text{—} \times \times$, are not found in the brief compass of this poem, they are present in other poems of Tennyson; in fact, they occur at all periods of our literature. Thus in the *Charge of the Light Brigade*:

All in the valley of death,

$\text{—} \times \times \mid \times \times \times \text{—}$

which is utterly misconceived when its galloping movement is exchanged for this:

All in the valley of death.

$\text{—} \times \mid \times \text{—} \times \mid \times \text{—}$

The Old English was fond of this resolution of three syllables into four.

The Fight at Maldon (end of tenth century, author unknown), is a very spirited poem, with variations similar to those we have found in the 54th Psalm. A few lines follow:

Byrhtnoth máthelode, bórd hafenode,
wánd wáene æsc, wordum mælde,
ýrre and ánraed, ageaf him ándsware:
Gehýrst thu, sælida, hwæt this folc ségeth?
Hi willath eow to gáfole gáras syllan
ættrene órd and éalde swurd.

gives an extra syllable, the point is not well taken. For the rhythm before us (if line 8 is made to correspond) would permit a variation like this in line 6:

That he shouts on the beach with his sister,

and then the two lines would be the exact syllabic equivalents of the two in Ps. 54. 3.

Byrhtnoth replied, his buckler uplifted,
 Waved his slim spear, with words he spake,
 Angry and firm gave answer to him.
 Hear'st thou, seafarer, what saith this folk?
 They will for tribute spear-shafts you pay,
 Poisonous points and trusty swords.

(Prof. Garnett's translation, Baltimore, 1901.)

It cannot be necessary to accumulate evidence of apparent irregularities of form, which, like musical discords, are taken up into a higher harmony, and this at all periods of English literature. A single specimen from Shakespeare may suffice, though scores might be given.

To have no screen between the part he played
 And him he played it for, he needs will be
 Absolute Milan. Me, poor man! my library
 Was dukedom large enough. Of temporal royalties
 He thinks me now incapable; confederates
 (So dry he was for sway) wi' the King of Naples.

The Tempest, i. 2. 107-112.

Note that the first two lines follow precisely the regular scheme, $\times \text{—}$, while the other four present the most complex deviations: $\text{—} \times$, $\times \text{—} \times$, — , $\times \text{—} \times \times$, $\text{—} \times \times$, $\times \times \text{—}$. The resemblance to those in the psalm is striking; six of the seven varieties which are here are also there.

Although caution is as needful on the English as on the Hebrew side, still the weight of evidence appears to favour the claim that the 54th Psalm, in the Massoretic recension, bears all the tests which are properly applicable to English verse. It is poetical, rhythmical, metrical.

Psalm 67.

אלהים יחננו ויברכנו | יאר פניו אתנו: ²
 לדעת בארץ דרכך | בכל גוים ישועתך: ³
 יודוך עמים אלהים | יודוך עמים כלם: ⁴

5 ישמחו וירננו לאמים | כי תשפט עמים מישר | ולאמים בארץ תנחם :

6 יודוך עמים אלהים | יודוך עמים כלם :

7 ארץ נתנה יבולה | יברכנו אלהים אלהינו :

8 יברכנו אלהים | ויראו אותו | כל אפסי ארץ :

There are some close correspondences with Psalm 54. Assonance and rime are frequent: ver. 2, *תנו, בְּנו*; ver. 3, *תִּקֶּה, תִּקֶּה*; vv. 4, 5, 6, *מים, הים*; ver. 7, *תנו, בְּנו*. Each psalm has seven metrical verses; as a rule, with one cesura in the middle; but in both psalms ver. 5 has two cesuras and extends to nine feet. All the other verses in both psalms have six feet. The movement also is in triple time throughout. In the last verse of 67, we have the pleasing variation with two cesuras, $2 + 2 + 2 = 3 + 3$. Some would make no change here, simply suspending the voice after *ויראו*, cf. Budde on Isa. 14 in *ZATW.*, 1882 (Art. 1). But in reading for the sense, we do well to note such variations. The effect is similar to the following transposition in English:

And I would that my tongue ||

Could utter | the thoughts ||

That arise in me.

($2 + 2 + 2 = 3 + 3$.)

On the whole, this psalm is more regular than 54. The only changes from the type $\times \times \text{—}$ which a rigid scrutiny can discover are these: (1) $\times \text{—}$, (2) $\text{—} \times$, (3) $\times \text{—} \times$, (4) $\times \times \text{—} \times$, (5) $\times \times \times \text{—}$, (6) $\times \times \times \text{—} \times$. It will be seen at a glance, and yet more plainly by becoming familiar with the psalm, that this is a natural development; indeed, in several of these cases, many readers would prefer to follow the type. No. 1, as we have seen, is of constant occurrence in English verse of this kind. No. 2 scarcely differs, for it is

simply the segholate אֶרֶץ which Sievers supposes to have been often accented on the ultima. However this may be, our own blank verse is constantly interchanging $\times \text{—}$ and $\text{—} \times$. Nos. 3, 4, 5 we found in Psalm 54. As to No. 6, it is pertinent to remark that a hemistich in Old English may have an anacrusis extending sometimes to several syllables.

No one ought to deny that the evidence for a true metre in the Hebrew Psalms is much strengthened by the existence of a second psalm that answers all the tests of English metre. We are far from asserting that *all* the psalms are metrical; that is a very different statement.

Psalm 82.

- 1 אֱלֹהִים נֹצַב בְּעֶדֶת אֵל | בְּקֶרֶב אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט :
- 2 עַד מָתַי תִּשְׁפֹּטוּ עוֹל | וּפְנֵי רָשָׁעִים תִּשְׁאֹו :
- 3 שְׁפֹטוּ דָל וְיִתּוֹם | עֲנִי וְרֵשׁ הַצְדִּיקוּ :
- 4 פִּלְטוּ דָל וְאִבְיוֹן | מִיַּד רָשָׁעִים הַצִּילוּ :
- 5 לֹא יִדְעוּ וְלֹא יִבְיִנוּ | בַּחֲשָׁכָה יִתְהַלְכוּ | יִמוּטוּ כָל מוֹסְדֵי אֶרֶץ :
- 6 אֲנִי אֹמַרְתִּי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם | וּבְנֵי עֲלִיֹן כָּלְכֶם :
- 7 אֲכֵן כְּאֹדָם תִּמּוֹתֶן | וּכְאֹהֲד הַשָּׁרִים תִּפְּלוּ :
- 8 קוֹמָה אֱלֹהִים שִׁפְטָה הָאָרֶץ | כִּי אַתָּה תִּנְחַל בְּכָל הַנּוֹיִם :

Here is our regular 3+3 measure, exchanged in the last verse for 4+4, after the manner of an English Alexandrine. It is a mere coincidence, but a singular one, that once more, as in 54 and 67, the fifth verse, and that alone, has 3+3+3 tones. It will be asked why I have accented תִּשְׁפֹּטוּ (ver. 2) on the first syllable, but שִׁפְטָה (ver. 3) on the last. The answer brings out a delicate point in word-grouping. Besides the main cesura in each line, there is

a slight subordinate pause in the stichos, to separate the lesser groups. In ver. 2, עָל is more closely connected with the verb than מָתִי is; but if we were to say תִּשְׁפֹּט עָל, it would necessitate a slight pause between the two accents; hence we make the pause after מָתִי, and throw back the tone of the verb by the figure called *nesiga*. On the other hand, in ver. 3, לֵל is less closely connected with the verb than with its fellow object (one of many facts which show how little reliance can be placed on Makkeph); hence the accents can stand in their regular places. The metrical type in this psalm, as in the others, is $\times \times \text{—}$; the variations are more numerous, but are easily accounted for. They include the eight we have had before and one other, $\times \text{—} \times \times$ (ver. 5, כֹּל מוֹסְדֵי). The same kind of foot occurs in the selection from Shakespeare's *Tempest* (my library).

Psalm 100.

- 1 הֲרִיעוּ לַיהוָה כָּל הָאָרֶץ :
 2 עֲבֹדוּ אֶת יְהוָה בִּשְׂמֵחָה | בָּאוּ לִפְנֵי בְרִנָּה :
 3 דַּעוּ כִּי יְהוָה הוּא אֱלֹהִים | הוּא עָשָׂנוּ וְלֹא אֲנַחְנוּ | עֲמֹ וְצֹאן מֵרְעִיתוּ :
 4 בָּאוּ שַׁעֲרֵי בִתּוּדָה | חֲצֵרָתִיו בַּתְּהֵלָה | הוֹדוּ לוֹ בִּרְכּוֹ שִׁמּוֹ :
 5 כִּי טוֹב יְהוָה | לַעֲוֹלָם חֲסִדּוֹ | וְעַד דָּר וָדָר אֲמוֹנָתוֹ :

The general resemblance to the three preceding psalms we have examined is manifest. The peculiarities are as follows. Ver. 1 consists of a single stichos of three feet in triple measure; there is no balancing group; we might regard it as a title. Vv. 3 and 4 have each two cesuras, giving 3+3+3 tones; ver. 5 has two, giving 2+2+3 tones, or a 7-toned line. This we shall often meet again. Already there is becoming apparent a tendency to lengthen the last verse of a psalm. So far as the foot measure is

concerned, the deviations from the norm $\times \times \text{—}$ were all found in Psalm 54, viz. (1) $\times \text{—} \times$, (2) $\times \times \text{—} \times$, (3) $\times \text{—}$, (4) $\text{—} \times$, (5) $\times \times \times \text{—}$, (6) — . There are several apparently intentional rimes, some of which, however, may be accidental. Ver. 2, *הה* and *נה*; ver. 3, *מו* and *תו*; ver. 4, *דה* and *לה*, *לו* and *מו*; ver. 5, *דו* and *תו*.

Summing up results thus far, we have found in the three middle books of the Psalter a few short psalms, which are metrical in form, and characterized by the triple rhythm that has always prevailed in English verse. These psalms compare well as to regularity of scansion with much of our best English poetry. We must now go back and see if the same thing is true of longer poems.

Psalm 94.

- | | |
|---|----|
| אל נקמות יהוה אל נקמות הופיע: | 1 |
| הנשא שפט הארץ השב גמול על נאים: | 2 |
| עד מתי רשעים יהוה עד מתי רשעים יעלו: | 3 |
| יביעו יברו עתק יתאמרו כל פעלי און: | 4 |
| עמך יהוה ידבאו ונחלתך יענו: | 5 |
| אלמנה וגר יהרנו ויתומים ירצחו: | 6 |
| ויאמרו לא יראה יה ולא יבין אלהי יעקב: | 7 |
| בינו בערים בעם ובסילים מתי תשכילו: | 8 |
| הנטע און הלא ישמע אם יצר עין הלא יביט: | 9 |
| היסר גוים הלא יוכיח המלמד אדם דעת: | 10 |
| יהוה ידע מחשבות אדם כי המה הבל: | 11 |
| אשרי הנבר אשר תיסרנו יה ומתורתך תלמדנו: | 12 |
| להשקים לו מימי רע עד יברה לרשע שחת: | 13 |

- 14 כי לא יטֹשׁ יהוָה עַמּוֹ | וְנַחֲלָתוֹ לֹא יַעֲזֹב:
 15 כי עַד צֶדֶק יָשׁוּב מִשְׁפָּט | וְאַחֲרָיו כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵב:
 16 מִי יָקוּם לִי עִם מַרְעִים | מִי יַחֲצִיב לִי עִם פְּעָלֵי אֵין:
 17 לֹלֵא יְהוָה עֲזָרְתָהּ לִי | כַּמַּעַט שְׂכֵנָה רֹמָה נַפְשִׁי:
 18 אִם אִמְרָתִי מָטָה רָגְלִי | חֹסֶדְךָ יְהוָה יִסְעָדָנִי:
 19 בָּרֵב שְׂרַעְפִּי בִקְרָבִי | תִּנְחֹמֶיךָ יִשְׁעִשְׁעוּ נַפְשִׁי:
 20 הִיחַבְרָךְ כִּסֵּא הוֹוֹת | יֵצֵר עֹמֶל עָלַי חֶק:
 21 יָגֻדּוּ עַל נֶפֶשׁ צַדִּיק | וְדָם נָקִי יִרְשִׁיעוּ:
 22 וַיְהִי יְהוָה לִי לְמִשְׁנָב | וְאֱלֹהֵי לְצֹר מַחֲסִי:
 23 וַיֵּשֶׁב עֲלֵיהֶם אֶת אֹנֶם | וּבִרְעָתָם יַצְמִיתָם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ:

The type is $\times \times \angle$ as before, with the scheme $3 + 3$, remarkably regular, except that here also the last verse is lengthened ($3 + 3 + 3$), and that in the middle, ver. 11 is $2 + 2 + 2$, ver. 12, $2 + 3 + 3$. Inasmuch as the book of Psalms has come down to us through long generations of copyists who were utterly ignorant of metrical form, it is certainly surprising that twenty-one out of these twenty-three verses are in perfect threes. The candid reader must acknowledge by this time that chance could not have produced such a result. Suppose we hereafter find a multitude of poems in the Old Testament that defy all metrical laws, this cannot alter the fact that we have found others which would be recognized in any language as real poetry. In Psalm 94, the various forms of feet which differ from the norm are exactly the same as in Psalm 82, except that $\angle \times \times$ does not occur. A specimen of each follows:

- (1) $\times \times \times \angle$ ver. 4, יִדְּבָרוּ
 (2) $\times \times \times \angle \times$ ver. 9, הִנֵּמֶע אֵין
 (3) $\times \times \angle \times$ ver. 3, יַעֲלֹזוּ

(4) $\times \text{—} \times \times$	ver. 4,	כל פעלי
(5) $\times \text{—} \times$	ver. 2,	הארץ
(6) $\times \text{—}$	ver. 1,	יהוה
(7) —	ver. 1,	אל
(8) $\text{—} \times$	ver. 8,	בינו

Let us make assurance doubly sure by a few more examples.

Psalm 91.

- 1 יֵשֶׁב בְּסֹתֶר עֲלִיּוֹן | בְּצֹל שְׁדֵי יַחְלוּן :
- 2 אֲמַר לַיהוָה | מַחְסֵי וּמִצּוֹדֹתַי | אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתִי בּוֹ :
- 3 כִּי הוּא יִצִּילְךָ | מִפֶּחַ יִקָּשׁ | מִדְּבַר הָוֹת :
- 4 בְּאִבְרָתוֹ יִסַּךְ לְךָ | וְתַחַת כְּנָפָיו תִּחָּסֶה | צָנֶה וּסְחָרָה אִמְתּוֹ :
- 5 לֹא תִירָא מִפֶּחַד לַיְלָה | מִחֶץ יַעֲוֹף יוֹמָם :
- 6 מִדְּבַר בְּאִפְלֵי יֶהְלֵךְ | מִקְטָב יִשׁוּר צְהָרִים :
- 7 יִפֹּל מִצֶּדֶד אֶלֶף | וְרִבְבָּה מִיְמִינֶךָ | אֲלֵיךְ לֹא יִגַּשׁ :
- 8 רֶגֶל בְּעֵינֶיךָ תִּבְיֵט | וּשְׁלֹמֹת רַשָּׁעִים תִּרְאֶה :
- 9 כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה מַחְסֵי | עֲלִיּוֹן שְׁמַת מַעֲוֹנֶךָ :
- 10 לֹא תֵאֱנָה אֲלֵיךְ רָעָה | וְנִגַּע לֹא יִקְרָב בְּאַהֲלֶךָ :
- 11 כִּי מִלֵּאֲבָיו יִצוּה לְךָ | לְשֹׁמֶרְךָ בְּכָל דְּרָכֶיךָ :
- 12 עַל כַּפִּים יִשְׁאוּנֶךָ | פֶּן תִּגּוֹף בְּאֵבֶן רִגְלֶךָ :
- 13 עַל שָׁחַל וּפֶתֶן תִּדְרֹךְ | תִּרְמָס כִּפִּיר וְתִנֵּן :
- 14 כִּי בִי חֶשֶׁק וּפְלִטָהוּ | אֲשַׁנְּבֶהוּ כִּי יֵדַע שְׁמִי :
- 15 יִקְרָאֵנִי (וְאֵנִי) אֲעֲנֶהוּ | עִמּוֹ אֲנֹכִי בְּצָרָה | אֲחַלְצֶהוּ וְאֲכַבְּדֶהוּ :
- 16 אֶרֶךְ יָמִים אֲשַׁבִּיעֶהוּ | וְאַרְאֶהוּ בִישׁוּעָתִי :

This is in 3 + 3 measure, vv. 2, 3 having the equivalent 2 + 2 + 2. In vv. 4, 7, 15 the scheme is 3 + 3 + 3, but of course this only emphasizes the measure. The whole psalm should be read aloud often to appreciate its wonderful smoothness; only in ver. 15 **אני** seems to have fallen out before **אענהו**, owing to the **אני** at the end of the previous word.

The deviations in this psalm from $\times \times \text{—}$ are these: (1) $\times \text{—}$, (2) $\times \times \times \text{—}$, (3) $\text{—} \times$, (4) — , (5) $\times \text{—} \times$, (6) $\text{—} \times \times$, (7) $\times \times \text{—} \times$, (8) $\times \times \times \text{—} \times$. They are the same in number as those in Psalm 94, and almost the same in character.

Psalm 85.

2 רָצִיתָ יְהוָה אֶרְצָךְ | שִׁבַת שְׁבוֹת יַעֲקֹב:

3 נִשְׁאַתָּ עוֹן עֲמֹךְ | כָּסִיתָ כָּל חַטֹּאתֶם:

4 אֶסְפֹּת כָּל עֲבֹרֹתֶךָ | הַשִּׁיבוֹת מִחֵרוֹן אַפֶּךָ:

5 שׁוּבוּנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעֵנוּ | וְהַפֵּר כַּעֲסְךָ עִמָּנוּ:

6 הַלְעוֹלָם תֵּאֱנַף בָּנוּ | תִּמְשֹׁךְ אַפֶּךָ לְדֹר וָדֹר:

7 הֲלֹא אַתָּה תִּשׁוּב תַּחֲיִינוּ | וְעַמְּךָ יִשְׁמַחוּ בְּךָ:

8 הֲרֹאנוּ יְהוָה חֶסֶדְךָ | וַיִּשְׁעַךְ תַּתֵּן לָנוּ:

9 אֲשַׁמְעָה מִה יִדְבֹּר הָאֵל יְהוָה | כִּי יִדְבֹּר שְׁלוֹם אֶל עַמּוֹ וְאֶל

חֲסִידָיו | וְאֵל יִשׁוּבוּ לְכַסְלָה:

10 אַךְ קָרוֹב לִירְאָיו יִשְׁעוּ | לִשְׁכֵּן בְּאֶרְצָנוּ:

11 חֶסֶד וְאֱמֶת נִפְגְּשׁוּ | צֶדֶק וְשְׁלוֹם נִשְׁקוּ:

12 אֱמֶת מֵאֲרִיץ הַצִּמְחָה | וְצֶדֶק מִשְׁמַיִם נִשְׁקָף:

13 גַּם יְהוָה יִתֵּן הַטּוֹב | וְאֶרְצָנוּ תִתֵּן יִבְלֶה:

14 צֶדֶק לִפְנֵי יְהֹלֵךְ | וַיִּשֶׁם לְדֹרֶךְ פַּעֲמָיו:

This is another psalm of very even flow, with but a single exception; in ver. 9 יהוה and חסידיו ואל disturb the rhythm and give the abnormal line 4 + 4 + 3. Also they look like editorial expansions. Remove these words and the whole moves on without a break (ver. 9, 3 + 3 + 3; all the rest 3 + 3). But we are not yet authorized to make such changes for metrical convenience; it may be that the poet chose the variety. Compare lines 11 and 15 of 'Break, break, break.'

Psalm 85 has the same permutations of the foot to which we are becoming accustomed; ver. 2, $\times \text{—} \times$, $\times \text{—}$, $\text{—} \times$; ver. 3 (additional), — ; ver. 4, $\times \times \text{—} \times$; ver. 6, $\times \times \times \text{—}$; ver. 7, $\text{—} \times \times$: only seven in all.

The numerous rimes near the beginning are seen to be merely the effect of the ending ה as addressed to the Divine being; a similar explanation holds in many other cases.

Psalm 81.

- 2 הרנינו לאלהים עוזנו | הריעו לאלהי יעקב:
 3 שאו זמרה ותנו תף | כנור נעים עם נבל:
 4 תקעו בחדש שופר | בכסה ליום חגנו:
 5 כי חק לישראל הוא | משפט לאלהי יעקב:
 6 עדות ביהוסף שמו | בצאתו על ארץ מצרים | שפת לא ידעתי
 אשמע:
 7 הסירותי מסבל שכמו | כפיו מדור תעברנה:
 8 בצרה קראת ואחלצך | אענך בסתר רעם | אבחנך על מי מריבה:
 9 שמע עמי ואעידה בך | ישראל אם תשמע לי:
 10 לא יהיה בך אל זר | ולא תשתחוה לאל נכר:
 11 אנכי יהוה אלהיך | המעלך מארץ מצרים | הרחב פיך ואמלאהו:

- 12 ולא שמע עמי לקולי | וישראל לא אבה לי:
 13 ואשלחם בשרירות לבם | ילכו במועצותיהם:
 14 לו עמי שמע לי | ישראל בדרכי יהלכו:
 15 כמעט אויביהם אכניע | ועל צריהם אשיב ידי:
 16 משנאי יהוה יבחשו לו | ויהי עחם לעולם:
 17 ויאבילחו מחלב חמה | ומצור דבש אשבועך:

Three-tone measure throughout, but in three cases, unless the text is wrong, we have to crowd into a single foot the form $\times \times \times \times \angle \times$, which seems like taking an unpoetical licence. One case is in ver. 8, ואחלצך, another in ver. 13, ואשלחם, and the third in ver. 17, ויאבילחו. Everything else is regular, and presents the variations already considered. Vv. 6, 8, 11 are $3 + 3 + 3$; the rest are $3 + 3$.

We come next upon a different metrical scheme.

Psalm 46.

- 2 אלהים לנו מחסה ועז | עזרה בצרות נמצא מאד:
 3 על כן לא נירא בהמיר ארץ | ובמוט הרים בלב ימים:
 4 יהמו יחמרו מימיו | ירעשו הרים בנאותו:
 5 נהר פלגיו ישמחו עיר אלהים | קדש משכני עליון:
 6 אלהים בקרבה כל תמוט | יעזרה אלהים לפנות בקר:
 7 המו גוים ממו מלכות | נתן בקולו תמוג ארץ:
 8 יהוה צבאות עמנו | משגב לנו אלהי יעקב:
 9 לכו חזו מפעלות יהוה | אשר שם שמות בארץ:
 10 משבית מלחמות עד קצה הארץ | קשת ישבר וקצץ חנית | עגלות
 ישרף באש:

11 הרפו ודעו כי אנכי אלהים | ארום בגוים ארום בארץ:

12 יהוה צבאות עמנו | משגב לנו אלהי יעקב:

This is unmistakably written in fours instead of in threes. The latter occasionally break in, but the prevailing foot is 4 + 4, and in ver. 10 it is 4 + 4 + 3, the very form that gave us trouble in Psalm 85. As this is the first occurrence of the 4-tone rhythm, I will present it by verses:

Ver. 2, 4 + 4.	Ver. 3, 4 + 4.
4, 3 + 4.	5, 4 + 3.
6, 4 + 4.	7, 4 + 4.
8, 3 + 4.	9, 4 + 3.
10, 4 + 4 + 3.	11, 4 + 4.
12, 3 + 4.	

Every verse has at least one 4-tone, and most of them have two. Note also the regular alternation of 3 + 4 with 4 + 3. There is less variation within the foot than we found in the psalms written in threes. The greater part of the feet are $\times \times \text{—}$ or $\times \text{—}$, and there are no new irregularities.

Psalm 53.

2 אמר נבל בלבו אין אלהים | השחיתו והתעיבו עול אין עשה טוב:

3 אלהים משמים השקיף על בני אדם | לראות היש משכיל דרש

את אלהים:

4 כלו סג יחדו נאלחו | אין עשה טוב אין גם אחד:

5 הלא ידעו פעלי און | אכלי עמי אכלו לחם | אלהים לא קראו:

6 שם פחדו פחד לא היה פחד | כי אלהים פור עצמות חנך |

הבישתה כי אלהים מאסם:

7 מי יתן מציון ישעות ישראל | בשוב אלהים שבות עמו |

יגל יעקב ישמח ישראל:

As I have already implied, this psalm has suffered from the existence of another recension, namely, Psalm 14. And yet the rhythmic division is clear, and for the most part smooth.

Ver. 2, 4 + 4.

Ver. 3, 4 + 4.

4, 4 + 4.

5, 4 + 4 + 3.

6, 4 + 4 + 3.

7, 4 + 4 + 4.

In the opening verses, one has to hurry the time occasionally, and yet there are only two or three occurrences of $\times \times \times \angle$, and one of $\times \times \times \times \angle$. Worse things we have already passed.

Psalm 96.

שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה שִׁיר חֹדֶשׁ | שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה כָּל הָאָרֶץ: 1

שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה בְּרָכוּ שְׁמוֹ | בְּשָׂרוּ מִיּוֹם לְיוֹם יִשְׁעוֹתָיו: 2

סִפְּרוּ בְּנוֹיָם כְּבוֹדוֹ | בְּכָל הָעַמִּים נִפְּלְאוֹתָיו: 3

כִּי גָדוֹל יְהוָה וּמַהֲלֵל מְאֹד | נֹרְאָה הוּא עַל כָּל אֱלֹהִים: 4

כִּי כָל אֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים אֱלִילִים | וַיהוָה שָׁמַיִם עָשָׂה: 5

הוֹד וְהֹדֶר לַפָּנִי | עוֹ וְתַפְאֶרֶת בְּמִקְרָשׁוֹ: 6

הָבוּ לַיהוָה מִשְׁפָּחוֹת עַמִּים | הָבוּ לַיהוָה כְּבוֹד וְעוֹ: 7

הָבוּ לַיהוָה כְּבוֹד שְׁמוֹ | שְׂאוּ מִנְחָה וּבָאוּ לַחֲצֹרוֹתָיו: 8

הִשְׁתַּחֲווּ לַיהוָה בְּהִדְרַת קֹדֶשׁ | חִילוּ מִפְּנֵי כָל הָאָרֶץ: 9

אִמְרוּ בְּנוֹיָם יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ | אֵף תִּכּוֹן תָּבַל כָּל תְּמוּנָה | יְדִין עַמִּים 10

בְּמִישָׁרִים:

יִשְׁמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וּתְנֵל הָאָרֶץ | יִרְעֻם הַיָּם וּמַלְאוֹ: 11

יַעֲלֻ שָׂדֵי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ | אֲזִי יִרְנְנוּ כָּל עֲצֵי יַעַר: 12

לַפָּנֵי יְהוָה | כִּי בָא כִּי בָא | לִשְׁפָט הָאָרֶץ || יִשְׁפֹּט תָּבַל 13

בְּצֶדֶק | וְעַמִּים בְּאִמּוֹנָתוֹ:

This fine psalm is in regular 4-tone measure with very few exceptions. An objector naturally fastens on the two or three exceptions, but every one with a musical ear who will read this poem aloud cannot help seeing that the 4 + 4 movement (4-tone rhythm) is of the very essence of the poet's intent. The last verse, following the tendency before noticed, is an Alexandrine, with the measure 6 + 6. In the other twelve verses there are twenty-two quadruple groups, and only three triple groups, namely, vv. 3 a, 5 b, 6 a.

Within the foot itself are the following varieties: (1) $\text{—} \times$, (2) $\times \times \text{—}$, (3) — , (4) $\times \text{—}$, (5) $\times \text{—} \times$, (6) $\times \times \times \text{—}$, (7) $\times \times \text{—} \times$. Here, then, as just before, we find plainer sailing than in most of the psalms we have examined.

I have now adduced three poems in fours from the three middle books of the Psalter. It is true that this combination of feet is much less common than that by threes, but the two are often mingled. In English verse, both are frequent. The *Fight at Maldon* has already been cited. I will mention two others in 4-tone rhythm; first, Lady Anne Barnard's classic ballad of *Auld Robin Gray*, composed in 1771. The first and fifth stanzas will suffice to show the general movement and the various kinds of feet.

When the sheep are in the fauld, and the kye at hame,
And a' the warld to sleep are gane;
The waes o' my heart fa' in showers fra' my é'e,
When my gudeman lies sound by me.

My heart it said náy, for I looked for Jamie back;
But the wind it blew híg, and the ship it was a wrack;
The ship it was a wrack—why didna Jamie dee?
Or why do I live to say, Wae's mé?

This yields six varieties of feet, given here in the order of their first occurrence: (1) $\times \times \text{—} \times$, (2) $\times \times \text{—}$, (3) $\times \text{—}$, (4) $\text{—} \times$, (5) $\times \times \times \text{—}$ (it was a wrack), (6) $\times \text{—} \times$ (why didna).

The other example, from Jean Ingelow, has quite a different swing, being not only written in 4-tone measure, but in quadruple rhythm; each of the four feet in a line consists of four beats, while the number of syllables in a foot varies from one to five. I give two stanzas of the poem:

Like a Laverock in the Lift.

It's wé two, it's wé two, it's wé two for aye,
 All the world and wé two, and Heaven be our stáy.
 Like a laverock in the lift, sing, O bonny bríde!
 All the world was Ádam once, with Éve by his síde.

When the darker dáy's come, and nó sun will shíne,
 Thóu shalt dry my téars, lass, and I'll dry thine.
 It's wé two, it's wé two, while the world's awáy,
 Síttíng by the gólden sheaves ón our wedding dáy.

This is so metrical and symmetrical that a good reader would take the same time for the enunciation of each foot; and yet the feet are so diverse that the four feet of line 3 contain respectively 5, 3, 4, 1 syllables, and those of line 6 have 4, 3, 2, 1.

Leaving now these purely ternary and quaternary schemes, we find that both in English and in Hebrew a line is frequently composite, having 4 + 3 tones, sometimes in the opposite order 3 + 4; or to look at it in another light, a 4-toned line is followed or preceded by a 3-toned line. English usage sometimes prints the whole in one line, oftener in two. An example of the former is Mrs. Hemans's *Bernardo del Carpio*:

The warrior¹ bowed his crested² head³ and tamed⁴ his heart⁵ of fire⁶,
And sued the haughty¹ king² to free his long³ imprisoned⁴ sire⁵.

When the seven tones appear in two lines, we have the 'common metre' of our hymns; for instance, the noble hymn by Henry Kirke White, which begins:

The Lord¹ our God² is full³ of might⁴;
The winds¹ obey his will²;
He speaks¹,—and in² his heavenly³ height⁴
The rolling¹ sun² stands still³.

On the Hebrew side, we have already noted the closing line of the 100th Psalm:

כי טוב יהוה לעולם חסדו | ועד דר ודר אמונתו :

Also the alternations in Ps. 46, vv. 4, 5, 8, 9, where we have (twice repeated) the scheme 3 + 4, 4 + 3. Sometimes three or more Massoretic verses in succession are written in this 7-toned rhythm: e.g. Ps. 44. 19-21; 47. 2-4; 105. 1-3. I do not find any whole psalm composed in this measure; the nearest approach to it is

Psalm 58.

2 האמנם אלים צדק תדברון | מישרים תשפטו בני אדם :
3 אף בלב עולת תפעלון | בארץ חמס ידיכם תפלסון :
4 אורו רשעים מרחם | תעו מבטן דברי כוב :
5 חמת למו כדמות חמת נחש | כמו פתן חרש יאטם אוזו :
6 אשר לא ישמע לקול מלחשים | חובר חברים מחכם :
7 אלהים הרס שנימו בפימו | מלתעות בפירים נחין יהוה :
8 ימאסו כמו מים יתהלכו למו | ידרך חצו כמו יתמללו :

כֹּמוֹ שְׁבָלוֹל חֲמֹס יֶהֱלֵךְ | נָפַל אִשֶּׁת בַּל חֹזֵ שְׁמוֹשׁ׃ 9

בְּמִרְמָה יִבְיִנוּ סִירְתִּיכֶם אֲטֹר | כֹּמוֹ חִי כֹמוֹ הָרוֹן יִשְׁעֲרֵנו׃ 10

יִשְׁמַח צְדִיק כִּי חָזָה נָקָם | פַּעֲמָיו יִרְחֹץ בְּדָם הָרָשָׁע׃ 11

וַיֹּאמֶר אָדָם אֵךְ פְּרִי לְצִדִּיק | אֵךְ יֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים שְׁפָטִים בְּאָרֶץ׃ 12

If we follow the received text strictly, six verses of this psalm are 7-toned, but it is tempting to omit יהוה at the end of ver. 7, since אלהים begins the verse; this gives seven verses out of eleven, six of the seven being consecutive. Each foot is equivalent in time to every other.

I would not assert that in all poems each foot has the same time. To illustrate, take another verse from *Bernardo del Carpio*:

Thou canst not?—and a king!—his dust be mountains
on thy head.

A reader who has learned the art of expression will pause after the words 'not' and 'king,' and will deliver the last words of the line more slowly than the first words. Sidney Lanier in his excellent work on *The Science of English Verse* (New York, 1880), from which several of my examples are taken, proves that silences—equivalent to musical rests—are as integral parts of the time as sounds; but he insists that all feet are equal in time value. We must remember, however, that even music knows not only rests but holds, which theoretically disturb the rhythm, and yet are of great practical importance.

Another composite line, and a very popular one in Hebrew, has five tones; either 3 + 2 or 2 + 3. I do not know that it occurs in the best English poetry; our so-called pentameters are structurally very different. This is the *kind* measure that prevails in the Lamentations; I have referred to it in

the Introduction. However, it is not always pitched in the minor key, for a typical example is Ps. 19. 8 ff., where twelve such lines occur in succession. We find several others at the beginning of the middle books of the Psalter.

Psalms 42, 43.

- 2 כֹּאֵל תַּעֲרֹג עַל אֶפְיָי מִים | כֵּן נַפְשִׁי תַעֲרֹג אֱלֹהִים :
- 3 צִמְאָה נַפְשִׁי לֵאלֹהִים לֹאֵל חַי | מָתִי אֲבֹא וְאֵרָאָה פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים :
- 4 הִיָּתָה לִי דַמְעָתִי לֶחֶם | יוֹמָם וּלְלֵילָה || בֹּאֲמֶר אֵלַי כָּל הַיּוֹם |
אִיה אֱלֹהֶיךָ :
- 5 אֱלֹה אֲזַכְּרָה | וְאִשְׁפָּכָה עָלַי נַפְשִׁי || כִּי אַעֲבֹר בְּסֶךְ | אֲדָרִים עַד
בֵּית אֱלֹהִים || בְּקוֹל רִנָּה וְתוֹרָה | הַמֶּן חֲוֹנֵג :
- 6 מָה תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה נַפְשִׁי | וְתַהֲמִי עָלַי || הִוָּחֵלִי לֵאלֹהִים כִּי עוֹד אֲוֹדֶנּוּ |
יִשְׁוֹעוֹת פָּנָיו :
- 7 אֱלֹהֵי עָלַי נַפְשִׁי תִּשְׁתַּחֲחַח | עַל כֵּן אֲזַכְּרֶךָ || מֵאֶרֶץ יִרְדֵּן
וְחֶרְמוֹנִים | מֵהָר מִצְעֹר :
- 8 תְּהוֹם אֵל תְּהוֹם קוֹרָא | לְקוֹל צִנּוּרִיךָ || כָּל מִשְׁבְּרִיךָ וְגִלְיִךָ |
עָלַי עֲבְרוּ :
- 9 יוֹמָם יִצוֹה יְהוָה חֲסֹדוֹ | וּבְלֵילָה שִׁירָה עָמִי | תִּפְלָה לֹאֵל חַיִּי :
- 10 אֲוֹמְרָה לֹאֵל סִלְעִי | לְמָה שִׁכַּחְתָּנִי || לְמָה קָדַר אֶלְךָ | בְּלַחֲץ אֹיִב :
- 11 בְּרִצָּה בְּעֲצֻמוֹתַי | חֲרָפוֹנִי צוֹדְרִי || בֹּאֲמֶר אֵלַי כָּל הַיּוֹם | אִיה
אֱלֹהֶיךָ :
- 12 מָה תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה נַפְשִׁי | וְמָה תַהֲמִי עָלַי || הִוָּחֵלִי לֵאלֹהִים כִּי עוֹד
אֲוֹדֶנּוּ | יִשְׁוֹעַת פָּנָי וְאֱלֹהֵי :
- 1 שִׁפְטָנִי אֱלֹהִים | וְרִיבָה רִיבִי | מְגוֹי לֹא חֲסִיד || מֵאִישׁ מִרְמָה
וְעוֹלָה תִּפְלָטָנִי :

2 כי אלהי אלהי מעוזי | למה ונחלני || למה קדר אתהלך |
בלחץ אויב:

3 שלח אורך ואמתך | המה ינחוני || יביאוני אל הר קדשך | ואל
משכנותיך:

4 ואבואה אל מזבח אלהים | אל אל שמחת גילי | ואורך בכנור
אלהים אלהי:

5 מה תשתוחחי נפשי | ומה תהמי עלי || הוהילי לאלהים כי עוד
אורנו | ישועות פני ואלהי:

Here are no less than eighteen 5-toned lines, many of them consecutive. But mingled with these are other lines of the scheme 4 + 4, or 3 + 3, or 2 + 2 + 2, and a few more. One begins to realize the complications and perplexities of every attempt to reduce the psalms, not to speak of the other Hebrew poems, to metrical unity. But the difficulties have only begun. I subjoin the schemes of three of the more irregular psalms in the three middle books. It will not be necessary to set down the Hebrew, which any one can verify for himself.

Psalm 64.

Ver. 2, 4 + 4.	Ver. 3, 3 + 3.	Ver. 4, 4 + 3.	Ver. 5, 3 + 4.
6, 4 + 3 + 3.	7, 5 + 4.	8, 2 + 2 + 2.	
9, 3 + 3.	10, 5 + 2.	11, 5 + 3.	

Psalm 71.

Ver. 1, 3 + 2.	Ver. 2, 3 + 4.	Ver. 3, 3 + 4 + 3.
4, 4 + 3.	5, 2 + 4.	6, 3 + 4 + 3.
7, 3 + 2.	8, 3 + 2.	9, 4 + 4.
10, 3 + 4.	11, 3 + 4.	12, 3 + 3.
13, 4 + 5.	14, 3 + 3.	15, 5 + 3.
16, 4 + 3.	17, 3 + 3.	18, 5 + 3 + 3.
19, 3 + 4.	20, 5 + 2 + 4.	21, 2 + 2.
22, 5 + 5.	23, 4 + 3.	24, 4 + 4.

Psalm 86.

Ver.	Ver.	Ver.	Ver.
1, 4 + 3.	2, 4 + 4 + 2.	3, 2 + 3.	4, 3 + 4.
5, 4 + 3.	6, 3 + 4.	7, 3 + 2.	8, 4 + 2.
9, 3 + 4 + 2.	10, 4 + 3.	11, 3 + 3 + 4.	12, 3 + 2 + 4.
13, 3 + 4.	14, 4 + 4 + 3.	15, 4 + 4.	16, 3 + 3 + 3.
17, 4 + 3 + 5.			

What shall we say to these things? Surely we cannot continue to say that English verse is parallel with Hebrew. Nothing like this was ever written in English in the name of poetry, unless by Walt Whitman. For my part, I have no explanation to offer. My present object is accomplished in drawing attention to the phenomena: we shall proceed to examine whether they have ever been accounted for. If all the poetry of the Hebrew Bible were stored in our memories, we could point to nothing more metrically regular than are some of the psalms which have been before us, and to nothing less regular than are others of those psalms. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the two classes are equal in extent; the irregular poems greatly preponderate. I mention a few more of the latter class—Psalms 45, 55, 62, 75, 79, 83, 84, 95, 102. On the other hand, the following approach regularity—Psalms 47, 66, 80, 90.

Great interest attaches to Ps. 80, first because it is clearly strophical in form, and secondly because a few obvious emendations clear up the metre.

Psalm 80.

- 2 רְעָה יִשְׂרָאֵל הָאֵוִינָה | נֶהֱג כְצֶאֱן יוֹסֵף | יֵשֶׁב הַכְּרָבִים הוֹפִיעָה :
- 3 לַפָּנִי אֶפְרַיִם וּבְנֵימָן | וּמִנְשָׁה עוֹדְרָה אֶת גְּבוּרָתָךְ | וּלְבָה לִישַׁעְתָּה לָנוּ :
- 4 אֱלֹהִים הַשִּׁיבֵנו | וְהָאֵר פָּנֶיךָ וְנוֹשָׁעָה :

- 5 יהוה אלהים צבאות | עד מתי עשנת בתפלת עמך :
 6 האכלתם לחם דמעה | ותשקמו ברמעות שליש :
 7 תשימנו מדון לשכנינו | ואיבינו ילענו למו :
 8 אלהים צבאות השיבנו | והאר פניך ונושעה :
 9 גפן ממצרים תסיע | תגרש גוים ותטעה :
 10 פנית לפניה | ותשרש שרשיה | ותמלא ארץ :
 11 כסו הרים צלה | וענפיה ארזי אל :
 12 תשלח קציריה עד ים | ואל נהר יונקותיה :
 13 למה פרצת גדריה | וארוה כל עברי דרך :
 14 יכרסמנה חזיר מיער | וחזו שדי ירענה :
 15 אלהים צבאות שוב נא | הבט משמים וראה | ופקד גפן זאת :
 16 וכנה אשר כטעה ימינך | ועל בן אמצתה לך :
 17 שרפה באש כסוחה | מגערת פניך יאבדו :
 18 תהי ירך על איש ימינך | על בן אדם אמצת לך :
 19 ולא נסוג ממך | תחיינו ובשמך נקרא :
 20 יהוה אלהים צבאות השיבנו | האר פניך ונושעה :

The nineteen verses, not reckoning the unmetrical title, make forty-one lines, or stichoi, in the Massoretic divisions. But ver. 16 b is plainly a duplicate of 18 b; no one can give a good account of it as it stands. Striking this out, ver. 15 has three lines and ver. 16 one; both sense and balance are preserved by putting the *soph pasuk* after 15 b, instead of 15 c. Thus the opening words of ver. 17 refer to the vine, not to the unintelligible **בן**. Looking now at the forty lines, it is noticeable that vv. 2 and 3 have three lines each, all the others two lines each. It results that when a division is

marked off at the end of every fourth Massoretic verse there are precisely five sections of eight lines each, namely, vv. 2-4, 5-8, 9-12, 13-16, 17-20. The first section ends thus (Furness's *Wellhausen*):

Do thou restore us again, O God!
Let thy face shine, that we may be helped!

The second ends thus:

Do thou restore us again, O God Sabaoth!
Let thy face shine, that we may be helped!

The last is still more protracted:

Do thou restore us again, O Jahve, Lord Sabaoth!
Let thy face shine, that we may be helped!

The old view, that the refrain was purposely varied to reach a climax, was never able to explain the fact that the climax, 'O Jahve! God Sabaoth!' is already given in ver. 5. At present it is a commonplace of criticism that אלהים in these verses is a late insertion either for or with יהוה. Since, then, two of the three refrains are identical, and the idea of a climax must be abandoned, there is every reason for reading יהוה צבאות in ver. 4 also. And now when each section is regarded by itself, it is seen to be a true strophe, devoted to its own theme. Vv. 2-4 form a general supplication; 5-8 recite the present distress; 9-12 contrast the former prosperity; 13-16 are an earnest expostulation and entreaty; 17-20 sum up all that preceded.

It will be observed that this result has been reached independently. But turning now to the metre, the surprising fact comes out that every one of the forty stichoi is a perfect 3-toned line¹. The slight changes made on other grounds have brought this beautiful psalm into full metrical regularity. But it has already been shown that the two psalms which come next in the Psalter, 81 and 82, are also in regular

¹ In verse 10, 2 + 2 + 2 = 3 + 3. In verse 15 c read דהנן הוואת.

3-toned rhythm; these three psalms together make a three-fold cord which is not quickly broken, even though they stand in the midst of three others (79, 83, 84), which are but weak threads when subjected to metrical tests.

The only other psalm thus far examined which has an equally clear strophic structure is the double one 42-43, where also the refrain is twice repeated, but the lines are longer, mostly 4-toned, 5-toned, or 7-toned, and not so regular. The poem is well arranged by Prof. Briggs (*Study of Holy Scripture*, 1899, p. 410) in three strophes of twelve lines each, including the refrain of three lines.

At the opening of this chapter all theories stood on an equal footing; already some clues if not principles have been gained which will serve in the main business of examining the various theories. If all Hebrew poetry is metrical its metrical principles are not yet manifest, and are very different, at all events, from those of English poetry. We are sure, though, that it is not all non-metrical. It may be more rhythmical than metrical—if any one can maintain such a distinction. It is certainly strophic now and then, but it is hard to believe that it is strophic entirely. Whether a critical text, if ever gained, will be more metrical than the Massoretic or less so is a point wholly undetermined. It seems not to occur to those who handle this subject that the alternate metrical smoothness and roughness of the Hebrew poetry which has come down to us may be partly due to the presence or absence of a feeling for rhythm among the various editors and glossators who have worked over the text. But this is an allowable hypothesis which must be kept in view as we proceed. One thing is certain: no critic has a right to say 'the metre demands' this or that change unless his theory is broad enough and deep enough to take in naturally and hold up easily such diversified facts as have been brought out in our preliminary survey.

Signal instances of this *petitio principii* are strown through the recent commentaries of Duhm, whom Marti closely follows. Note in particular their frequent assumption that a long line between short lines, or *vice versa*, 'disturbs the metre,' and so must be pruned or stretched. So far as our present knowledge extends the poet may have designed that very variety. For instance, a single 4 + 4 amid threes and fives may excite suspicion, while a succession of such lines may be intentional. See Ps. 142. 7; 143. 11; contrast Ps. 144. 12-15.

In the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms Duhm speaks, it is true, with becoming modesty, and professes to know but in part. He also wishes us to take with a grain of salt a minority of the metrical statements in the body of the book, but this seems like an afterthought, since the assumed metre is so often the foundation of the critical construction.

CHAPTER II

EARLY METRICAL SYSTEMS

THERE is no advantage that I can discover in resurrecting and laying to rest once more the theories of Gomarus, Meibomius, Hare, and other ancients, which were pretty thoroughly disposed of by Bishop Lowth, so far as they had not disposed of one another. One might as well go back to Josephus and Jerome. As in duty bound, I have examined these systems, but am unable to find anything of vital importance to present-day researches. The reader will be interested in a single specimen of the stately Latin in which these gladiators clothed their savage thrusts at one another. Bishop Hare (p. 833) inserts Psalms 23, 95 according to the metrical system of Meibomius, and then adds:—

‘Haec vero reliquaeque omnia quae vir doctissimus exhibuit, artis suae Metricis Specimine, hoc unum abunde probant, de Metrica Hebraica se nihil quicquam intellexisse. Ad singula nihil annoto, cuivis enim lectori, qui hanc cum Textu Hebraico contulerit, primo intuitu patebit, quam foede omnia turbarit, interpolarit, et corruperit.’

It is refreshing to place in contrast the language of Lowth in his *Brief Confutation of Bishop Hare’s System of Hebrew Metre*.

‘I may reasonably indulge myself in the hope that the candid reader will prefer my hypothesis to that of Bishop Hare. This at least I trust I may expect, that he will treat them upon equal terms, and allow to each the same authority, that is—*none at all*. In the same manner, every hypothesis

which pretends to define the laws of Hebrew metre, and to prescribe the numbers, the feet, the scanning of the lines, may, I think, be easily overset; for to that hypothesis another, directly contrary, yet confirmed by arguments equally forcible, may, I am persuaded, be successfully opposed.'

Such was the verdict of the most enlightened scholarship as voiced by Lowth in 1753, and thus it stood for sixty years thereafter. The bibliography given at the close of this treatise does not go back beyond the nineteenth century. But in 1813 appeared a little book which opened a new epoch.

Johann Joachim Bellermann was born in 1754 at Erfurt, where he became Professor of Theology in 1782. He afterwards taught Hebrew at Berlin, and died in 1824. His *Versuch über die Metrik der Hebräer* (Berlin, 1813) is a small duodecimo of 276 pages, but its importance warrants a full abstract. The preface justifies a fresh attack of the problem (in spite of Lowth) by the parallel example of Gesenius, who had just entered the field of Hebrew lexicography and proved that new spoils were to be gained there. It also defends the general accuracy of the Massoretic punctuation, which the author follows, against eighteenth-century criticism.

Part I. *The Syllable and its Measures.*

Chapter I is on the system of the morae, or units of time. Each syllable contains (normally) three of these units, which are preserved amid inflectional alterations by corresponding changes in vowels and accents. The fundamental rule is that every syllable without the tone has three morae; with the tone it usually has three, but may have two or four. A long vowel has two morae, a short vowel one, sh'va and pataḥ furtive none. A consonant has one mora; and so have two consonants with sh'va between. The vowel letters have one mora if vocal, none if quiescent. Prefixed ׀ in

a simple syllable stands for 11, and has three morae. Dagghesh forte compensative and metheg compensative have each one mora. The remainder of Chapter I treats of apparent difficulties and objections to the system. These will come up when we examine later writers on the subject. Chapter II, on vocalizing and accenting, is similar to that rubric in ordinary grammars.

Part II. *The Verse and its Members.*

Each Hebrew word has but one long syllable, and this has the tone. A disyllable therefore can neither have both long nor both short, but by putting words after each other a succession of either long or short syllables may be gained, the latter by Makkeph. Thus we may have a two-syllable foot (verse-member), which answers either to a classic spondee, pyrrhic, trochee, or iambus; the last is much the commonest, and accords with the genius of the Hebrew tongue. A verse-member of three syllables corresponds either to an anapaest, tribrach, amphibrach, or by putting words together, to a dactyl, molossus, cretic, bacchius, or anti-bacchius. (Other polysyllabic arrangements are given, but are hardly worth mentioning.) The author's aim is not to have Hebrew scanned like Greek and Latin poetry, but to show that it has *similar* measures, that it lends itself to song, which we know accompanied it, and to song-like declamation. The objection that this system would scan prose as well as poetry, and the further objection that sh'va ought to be vocalized, are then dealt with; this discussion also must be deferred for the present.

Part II closes with some important qualifications. We must not look for verse-systems like the Sapphic, Alcaic, Asclepiad, &c. This is where Gomarus, Meibomius, Hare, and Greve have gone astray. If we are to make any comparison with the classics, Hebrew poetry is more like the

free compositions of the Greek tragedians, and of Pindar, Plautus, and Terence, than like the odes of Horace. Unlike classic poetry, Hebrew poetry generally fills out the sense with each verse-number. As (so-called) iambi and anapaests alternate with trochees and tribrachs, the verses often become composite ('polyschematisch'). The Hebrew poet looked more to the succession of his thoughts than to the arrangement of his feet, and so we find many acatalectic and hypercatalectic verses.

Part III. *The Song and its Species.*

Chapter I. Alphabetical songs. We take these first because the length of each verse is practically fixed, thus avoiding arbitrary construction of verses by addition or rejection. The alphabetical lines are of great importance to the critic in detecting errors. The shortest lines are best for that purpose; hence we begin with Psalms 111, 112, in which each half verse opens with a letter of the alphabet in due succession. These psalms are in triple time and in 3-toned measure, with an occasional 4-toned line; the type is $\times \times \text{—}$, ($\times \text{—}$). Bellermann does not use these symbols, but his terminology comes to the same thing. His scheme for Psalm 112 is as follows:

Ver.

1. $\times \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—} \parallel \times \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \text{—}$
2. $\times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \parallel \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—}$
3. $\text{—} \times \mid \text{—} \times \mid \times \text{—} \parallel \times \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—}$
4. $\times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—} \parallel \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—}$
5. $\times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—} \parallel \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—}$
6. $\text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—} \parallel \text{—} \times \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—}$
7. $\times \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—} \parallel \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—}$
8. $\times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—} \parallel \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—}$
9. $\times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \parallel \times \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \times \text{—} \parallel \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—}$
10. $\times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \parallel \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \parallel \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—} \mid \times \text{—}$

Here are twenty-two stichoi, the letters of the alphabet coming regularly without a break. Seventeen of these are 3-toned, and five are 4-toned. The scheme is 3 + 3 (3 + 3 + 3), with the following variations: vv. 2, 4, 4 + 3; vv. 6, 7, 3 + 4; ver. 9, 4 + 3 + 3. Within the foot, the correspondence to the type would be much closer, if the author sounded the sh'vas; he says this in so many words, in his remarks on Psalm 111. 'If one wished to express the sh'vas and the pattaḥ furtive by short vowels, or to permit himself some other slight changes, the iambic feet in some hemistichs would let themselves be recognized still more precisely.'

To illustrate: Bellermann makes monosyllables of מֵאָר, בָּסוּר, אִמָּה, לָכֵל, which we have hitherto read as disyllables. The question whether he is right or wrong in this I defer until we come to Saalschütz's criticism of him; but meanwhile it is evident that these two psalms embody the same kind of metre that prevailed in those psalms of the three middle books which we have denominated regular. The 'iambic feet' take the typical form $\times \times \angle$ whenever they begin with sh'va, and the general result is to put these two short psalms in the same category with those upon which we began experimenting, namely Psalms 54, 67, 80-82, &c.

The next alphabetic poem examined is Psalm 25. I quote Bellermann's capital remarks on ver. 1. 'The word אֱלֹהֵי, which in the printed texts forms the first word of ver. 2, belongs to ver. 1. Even then a foot seems to be missing, perhaps צִבְאוֹה, perhaps something else, perhaps nothing, since in solemn address not everything needs to be ordered according to metre; or perhaps the basis of ver. 2 בְּךָ belongs to ver. 1; at any rate, the second verse preserves its ב in בִּטְחָתִי. Now neither here nor in the following passages do I venture as yet to take up anything different from what the printed text gives. If the learned will only come to an agreement with my main positions, we

can pass on to emendations. To do it sooner, I consider suspicious.'

Similarly thorough and satisfactory treatment is accorded to Pss. 34, 37, 145; Prov. 31. 10-31; Lam. 1, 2, 3, 4. On Lam. 3, the close of his Remark 2 sets a good example to modern metrical critics; it resembles what has been quoted already on Psalm 111: 'By deviating from the text in a few trifling points, one could represent the iambic metre more accurately. I avoid this purposely so as not to have the appearance of altering the Hebrew metre out of love to my theory.'

Remark 5 anticipates Budde's *kiná* verse (3 + 2); it has been cited in the Introduction.

Assuming apparently that 'the learned will come to an agreement with his main positions,' our author 'passes on to emendations.' He tries his hand on the double psalm 9-10, which is only partly alphabetic in the received text, but which he restores so skilfully, and by methods so modern, that I am glad to lay open the process to the reader; all the more readily, since it furnishes so good an example of the aid which metrics may render to criticism. At the time when Bellermann wrote, Prof. Everhard Schedius had hazarded the conjecture that these two poems might form one and the same alphabetical psalm, and Eichhorn had called attention to that remark; but neither they nor any one else had developed the conjecture; on the other hand, both Rosenmüller and De Wette had publicly contradicted it, holding that the two poems did not belong together. At the present day, most scholars attempt an alphabetical arrangement, and differ among themselves in various details; but no one, so far as I know, has given credit to Bellermann for his pioneer work. As the received text stands, the two psalms contain thirty-eight Massoretic verses (omitting the title, as usual). Ver. 2 begins with נ, ver. 4 with ב, ver. 6

with **א**. Whereas each letter opened a half verse in Psalms 111, 112, and a whole verse in Psalms 25, 34, 145, here, as in Psalm 37, the plan seems to have been to give two verses to each letter. But six of the required forty-four are wanting.

The matter grows worse as we proceed to trace the initial letters. Ver. 8 has **ו** not **ד**; ver. 10, **ו** again, with **ה** unaccounted for; ver. 20 has **ק** not **כ**. Chapter X. 1 begins right with **ל**, but then all is dire confusion until we reach **ק** in ver. 12, three verses too soon. **ד** is in ver. 14 as it should be, but **ש** is in 15, not 16.

Bellermann begins by noting the fact that the LXX and Vulgate, with their descendants, regard the psalms as one, not two. This is also confirmed by the absence of a title from Psalm 10, an almost unprecedented thing in Books I-III. He suggests that some copyist may have been struck by the sudden transition to the second part of the psalm, and may have decided that a new psalm must begin at that point; this MS. may have gained especial weight, and been preserved as the Massoretic norm. Although only thirty-eight verses appear, two of these, 10. 9, 14, are double the usual length, whereby two lines are gained. Also 10. 3, 4, 5 are a little longer than the measuring-rod; between them one line is gained. This leaves only three lines wanting. The author, says Bellermann, was perhaps unable to finish the scheme he had so nearly completed; and so the letters **ד**, **ה**, and **ל** have one double stichos instead of two. We will now follow Bellermann in his search for the missing sheep. By his way of counting syllables, which excludes *sh'vas*, ver. 8 lacks a syllable at the beginning, but this is just where the **ד** verse belongs; begin then with **דעו** and you have a 3+3 line. In the received text, initial **ו** may be the remnant of this **דעו**. In **והוא**, at the beginning of ver. 9, **ו** is pleonastic, as often; the sense is stronger without it; that leaves one verse for **ה**, as above.

Now the letters ו, ז, ח, ט, י, כ follow in order; a clear proof that an acrostic was intended. Each has two Massoretic verses, except that י has one, and כ three; evidently, then, there has been a transposition; one of the כ verses should follow ver. 18. Bellermann wavers between ver. 20 and ver. 21, favouring the latter in his notes, but putting the former into his text.

Chapter X succeeds very naturally to Chapter IX, but after the first verse we get into serious difficulties. At the beginning of ver. 2, read ט for כ; the logical connexion is better so; not, *in* the pride of the wicked, but *through* it, the poor is troubled; for this last word, see Gesenius's *Lexicon*. Thus the ט verse is secured, but the second hemistich of ver. 3 is unusually long; putting *soph pasuk* at the place where the metre calls for it, we find the next word to be נאץ. So we have gained the ז verse, and better sense at the same time; instead of having to import a relative, 'blesseth the covetous *whom* Jahve despiseth,' we read on into ver. 4: 'blesseth the covetous. The wicked despiseth Jahve.'

The ז verse (3 + 3) extends to the *athnah* of ver. 4. Metre is confirmed at this point by textual criticism; for the LXX has precisely this division; beginning 9. 5 with παρώξυνεν = נאץ. For a further confirmation, see ver. 13: why does the wicked despise God? נאץ רשע. A fresh application of Bellermann's metrical yard-stick reaches to עת בכל in ver. 5. The next word is מרום, but the LXX reads ἀρτὰναι-*perai* = סרים, which gives a better sense: 'thy judgements are removed from him.' ס is in its regular place here, and two more double stichoi come out at the end of ver. 6. ע should come next, but we have the three precedents of Lam. 2, 3, and 4 for the order ס, פ, ע. Naturally, ver. 7 would bring together the three objects of מלא thus: פיהו: מלא מלא, &c. The present order, beginning with אלה, is

more emphatic, and for that very reason is likely to be due to a copyist. Beginning with פיהו, two lines (4 + 4 and 3 + 3) lead to the *athnah* of ver. 8, and the next word conveniently begins with ע; counting 3 + 4 twice, we reach the end of ver. 9. The *athnah* clause of ver. 10 has only two words; something is wanting at the beginning (cf. Wellhausen, *SBOT*, 'the verse is too short and is unsymmetrical'). Bellermann conjectures צר, making it the subject of the verbs that follow; it is not necessary, with him, to include ונפל. The scheme 3 + 4, 3 + 4 extends through ver. 11 and past all the breakers into the quiet haven, for the four final letters of the alphabet move on as regularly as one could wish. On the last verse of the psalm, our author observes with his wonted caution: 'If one ventured to excise עור the verse would be smoother; but I excise it not.'

It may be interesting to compare Bellermann's reconstruction of this double psalm with those of recent critics; I therefore present it entire:

- 2 אֹרֶה יְהוָה בְּכָל לְבִי | אִסְפָּרָה כָּל נִפְלְאוֹתָיִךְ
- 3 אֲשַׁמְחָה וְאֶעֱלֶצֶה בְּךָ | אֹמְרָה שִׂמְךָ עָלַיִן:
- 4 בְּשׁוֹב אֹיְבֵי אֲחֹזֵר | יִבְשְׁלוּ וַיֵּאבְדּוּ מִפְּנֶיךָ
- 5 כִּי עָשִׂיתָ מִשְׁפָּטִי וּדְיִנִּי | יֵשֶׁבֶת לִכְסֵּא שׁוֹפֵט צֶדֶק:
- 6 גָּעַרְתָּ גּוֹיִם אֲבֵרֶת רָשָׁע | שִׁמְם מַחִית לַעֲוֹלָם וְעַד
- 7 הָאֹיֵב תָּמוּ חֲרָבוֹת לִנְצַח | וְעַרְיִם נִחַשְׁתָּ אֲבֵר וְכֶרֶם חָמָה:
- 8 (דָּעוּ) יְהוָה לַעֲוֹלָם יֵשֶׁב | כּוֹנֵן לַמִּשְׁפָּט כֶּסֶּאֱוִי:
- 9 הֲוֹאֵה יִשְׁפֹּט תָּכֵל בְּצֶדֶק | יֵדִין לְאֲמִיִּם בְּמִישְׁרֵיִם:
- 10 וַיְהִי יְהוָה מִשְׁגֵּב לְדָךְ | מִשְׁגֵּב לַעֲתוֹת בְּצָרָה
- 11 וַיִּבְטְחוּ בְךָ יַדְעֵי שִׁמְךָ | כִּי לֹא עֲזַבְתָּ דִּרְשִׁיךָ יְהוָה:
- 12 זָמְרוּ לַיהוָה יֵשֶׁב צִיּוֹן | הִגִּידוּ בַעֲמִים עֲלִילוֹתָיו

- 13 כי דרש דמים אותם זכר | לא שכח צעקת עניים:
 14 חננני יהוה ראה עניי משנאי | מרוממי משערי מות
 15 למען אספרה כל תהלאתיך | בשערי בת ציון אנילה בישועתיך:
 16 טבעו גוים בשחת עשו | ברשת זו טמנו נלכדה רגלם
 17 נודע יהוה במשפט עשה | בפעל כפיו נוקש רשע:
 18 ישובו רשעים לשאולה | כל גוים שכחי אלהים
 19 כי לא לנצח ישכח אביון | תקות עניים תאבד לעד
 20 קומה יהוה אל יאז אנש | ישפטו גוים לפניך:
 21 שיתת יהוה מורה להם | ידעו גוים אנש המה:

- 1 למה יהוה תעמר ברחוק | תעלים בעתות בצרה:
 2 (מ) נאות רשע ידלק עני | יתפשו במומות זו חשבו:
 3 כי הלל רשע על תאות | נפשו ובצע ברך:¹
 3-5 נאיך יהוה רשע | כנבה אפו כל מזמותיו |
 יחילו דרכיו בכל עת:
 5 (מ) סרים משפטיך מנגדו | כל צורריו יפיה בהם
 6 אמר בלבו כל אמות | לדור ודור אשר לא ברע:
 7 פיהו מלא אלה ומרמה ותך | תחת לשונו עמל ואון
 8 ישב במארב חצרים | במסתרים יהרג נקי:
 9 עיניו לחלכה יצפנו | יארב במסתר כאריה בסכה | יארב לחטוף עני |
 יחטף עני במשכו ברשתו:
 10 (צר) ידכה ישח ונפל | בעצומיו חלכאים

¹ This is perhaps a slip. There should be two cesuras, after רשע and נפשו.

אָמַר בִּלְבוֹ שָׁכַח אֵל | הַסְתִּיר פָּנָיו בֶּל רָאָה לְנֶצַח: 11

קָוָמָה יִהְיֶה אֵל נִשְׂא יָדָךְ | אֵל תִּשְׁכַּח עֲנָיִים 12

עַל מָה נֶאֱמַר רִשְׁעֵי אֱלֹהִים | אָמַר בִּלְבוֹ לֹא תִדְרָשׁ: 13

רֵאשִׁיתָ כִּי אַתָּה עֹמֵל וְכַעַס | תִּבְטֵחַ לֵחַת בִּידְךָ | עֲלִיד יַעֲזֹב הִלְכָה | 14

יִתּוֹם אַתָּה הֵייתָ עֹזָר:

שָׁבַר וְרוּעַ רִשְׁעֵי וְרוּעַ | תִּדְרָשׁ רִשְׁעוֹ בֶּל תִּמְצָא 15

יִהְיֶה מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם וְעַד | אֲבָדוֹ נָיִים מֵאֶרְצוֹ: 16

תִּאֲוֹת עֲנָיִים שִׁמְעַת יִהְיֶה | תִּכְיֶין לִבָּם תִּקְשִׁיב אוֹזְךָ 17

לִשְׁפָט יִתּוֹם וְדָךְ בֶּל יוֹסִיף עוֹד | לֵאמֹר אֲנִי מִן הָאָרֶץ: 18

The last of the alphabetical psalms is 119, and on this Bellermann makes some remarks which bear on present-day controversies. 'Since the Hebrew does not count syllables but weighs feet, not even these octostichs can be named by syllables, or else it would be obvious to term them dodecasyllables, the majority consisting of six-foot lines, with two syllables to the iambic foot. But this would be to mistake the genius of Hebrew metre.'

'These are free catalectic, acatalectic, and hyper-catalectic senaries, very essentially different from those of the Greeks and Romans, in that they cannot be resolved into three dipodies, or into trimeters, but they divide into two sesquialters or two tripodies. To the analysis of a Hebrew senary into trimeters is opposed the parallelism, a chief characteristic of Hebrew poetry, for the sake of which the poet sacrifices every other possible perfection. The cesura falls in the middle of the verse, mainly at the end of a word. If the logical parallelism in the first half of the verse demands more syllables, there are usually fewer in the second half. . . . The free iambic structure with a few trochees and anapaests is unmistakable.'

Chapter II of Part III treats of non-alphabetical songs.

Only a few specimens can be given, he says, from a wide field, which covers the whole of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, most of the sixteen prophets, with many songs and speeches inserted in the historical books. These specimens are Ex. 15. 1-18, Ps. 1, Deut. 32, 2 Sam. 1. 19-27, Job 3. 4, 29.

Bellermann seems to have been the first to discover the simple and beautiful metre of the song of Moses. There are forty stichoi, distinctly regular. The structure is iambic and anapaestic, mainly 4-toned, with cesura in the middle. 'Calm thoughts are mostly in iambs, passionate emotions in anapaests.' On Psalm 1 his analysis and remarks are of less value than usual. On Deut. 32 he observes (p. 167 f.): 'Here too occur in the basis' (first foot of the line), 'and occasionally elsewhere, certain long syllables, which it is probable were especially prolonged (*gedehnt*). As to this, we must not fail to notice how our author in this case also observes a certain evenness of measure.' Cf. p. 105: 'In song and recitation some syllables were pronounced longer (*gedehnter*) or shorter, and thereby were adapted to the metre still more closely.' Here is the seed which has grown into the *überdehnen* and *zerdehnen*, of which Prof. Sievers is making so free use at the present day.

On Job 4: 'I repeat, Hebrew metre has its own characteristics, and while we may *compare* its forms with those of the Greeks and Romans, they cannot be *modelled* after them. Nor is this strange, for the Hebrew did not understand the principles of the later classic poetry, but was led to similar rules of art by the nature of the subject, by the organs of speech, by his ear, by music, &c.'

Chapter III of Part III is devoted to the so-called psalms of ascent, *ma'aloth*, Psalms 120-134. The various interpretations of the phrase are taken up, and rejected one by

one, except that suggested by Michaelis (in Lowth), that *ma'alah* = *scala*, and should be understood as in Syriac to refer to poems and poetic feet. On this basis, Bellermann brings out the curious hypothesis that the songs are named from their prevailingly trochaic character, as contrasted with the more customary iambics. The metre ascends¹; it is *mīlēl*, not *mīlra'*; and *mīl'el* has the same root as *ma'alah*. Accordingly, these psalms are made up of 'short verses, consisting chiefly of trochees, with a few dactyls, very seldom spondees, iambi, and, in the beginning, amphibrachs.' This can be made quite plausible if one puts the best foot forward, and starts, as Bellermann does, with Psalm 127. But the theory soon lags under the weight of the facts. Almost any iambic verse may be made to appear trochaic by commencing the line with an anacrusis. This device is resorted to so often as to become transparent. It is true there are *many* trochees in the psalms of ascent, and yet it is highly improbable that this fact suggested their name, for there are not nearly *so* many as Bellermann finds. We have already seen that both in English and in Hebrew $\angle \times$ often alternates with $\times \angle$ or $\times \times \angle$. Bellermann himself closes the investigation with a sentence which will command universal assent: 'In brief, misunderstandings are unavoidable, and, after all, the quantity cannot be so plainly indicated over Hebrew as over Latin characters.'

Part IV examines Hebrew rimes, Part V Hebrew parallelism; Part VI presents the judgements of the ancients on Hebrew metre. These portions of the book need not detain us. But some extracts must be given from the concluding summary:

'The Hebrews have verse-measures, resting on short and long syllables. They agree with the classic metres as regards what is fundamental in the nature of human speech and of

¹ Some would call this descending.

universal music ; aside from that, there is only a certain resemblance. Many Hebrew verses are alike in their feet, and even in their syllabic value, but there is probably not a single long poem with always equal, precisely corresponding poetic feet.

‘The Hebrews have strophes of three to eight verses, which link themselves to one another in a certain manner by parallel lines.

‘The metre of the ancient Hebrews is especially manifest by hemistichs, stichoi, distichs, tristichs, tetrastichs, pentastichs, and even some hexastichs, where thoughts and words were measured off uniformly. This artistic symmetry of word and perception, this balance of expression and of thought, constituted a chief element in Hebrew metre, and can be accurately preserved in its translation.

‘Those Hebrew scholiasts, the Massorettes, have preserved by their metrical accentuation the scansion and modulation of the ancients.’

He gives a list of metrical passages in the Old Testament additional to those already examined in detail, and closes the book with a modest hope that others will better this first attempt.

The list is worth keeping in mind : the songs of Deborah, Hannah, David (three of his, 2 Sam. 22, 23, 1 Chron. 17) ; the prayer of Habakkuk, the Song of Songs entire ; ‘sundry royal songs, e. g. Psalm 2, several psalms of calamity, and many passages in the prophets.’

The book as a whole is very sober, modern, and fruitful. In the ninety years since it was issued the course of metrical theory has followed many winding paths, and doubtless much that is valuable has been gained, but much also has had to be unlearned ; and if it be true, as I believe, that a genuine science of Hebrew metre must start from the received text to establish its principles, however much it may aid at a later

stage in transforming that text, then Bellermann's book will always have its value as the first to substitute for the arbitrary conjectures that had preceded him a sound investigation of the traditional documents.

Joseph Levin Saalschütz was born in Königsberg, 1801, was chosen rabbi at Vienna, 1829, and at Königsberg, 1835, became Privatdocent there 1849 (the first Jew who ever received such an appointment), and was afterwards made honorary professor in the same university. He died at Königsberg in 1863.

His great work on our subject is entitled *Von der Form der hebräischen Poesie, nebst einer Abhandlung über die Musik der Hebräer* (Königsberg, 1825, pp. 402, with several plates). The page is a little larger and more closely printed than Bellermann's; I should judge that the book contains nearly double the matter.

An erroneous statement which some cyclopaedias have copied from one another is that Saalschütz republished this book with two additional treatises under the title *Form und Geist der biblisch-hebräischen Poesie* (Königsberg, 1853). As a matter of fact, this last is merely a pamphlet, the first part aiming to condense and popularize his volume, but adding nothing of essential value.

The original work, however, is a marvel of solid erudition, all the more astonishing in that it emanated from a youth of twenty-four. Nothing could exceed the modesty of the author's preliminary remarks (p. 9):

'But in no wise did I ever conceive that *my* opinion is the unconditionally right one; for where two parties differ about a matter one of them must surely be mistaken, and why should not *I* be the one?'

Prof. Hahn furnished the young aspirant with a preface, which is interesting reading, as it shows that he himself had

gone through a parallel process of reflection on Hebrew metre with Budde's (see the Introduction of this book). He is warm in praise of Saalschütz's grammatical and archaeological investigations, but studiously non-committal on the main issue.

Part I gives the views of the most important previous writers on Hebrew metre, from Philo and Josephus to Beller-mann and Gesenius. The later writers among these, fifty-four in all, are grouped in five classes according to the degree of their belief or disbelief in the existence of Hebrew metre; for instance, Lowth belongs to the class headed 'Belief in the presence of a Hebrew metre, coupled with doubt of the possibility of discovering it,' while De Wette's class is described thus—'Actual assertion of the total lack of any regularity at all perceptible by the ear in the construction of the biblical poems.' But by far the greater part of the discussion (fifty pages out of eighty-two) is given to the first class: 'Belief in the presence of a Hebrew metre, and various attempts to represent it.' Under this title are treated Gomarus, Meibomius, Hare, Jones, Anton, Leutwein, Greve, and Beller-mann. The last is our first, since the others are discounted by the heavy percentage of conjecture in their theories; as Saalschütz says of Anton's construction, 'the pillars that seem to support it are, if the expression may be pardoned, an optical illusion.' Throughout the book he constantly cites Beller-mann, almost ignoring the others. He mentions him in most respectful terms, though his main object is to put forth an antagonistic system. The critical work in this whole Part I is admirably done; later writers, when treating of the earlier periods, have needed to do little more than quote from Saalschütz; see a modern instance in Schlögl's prize essay, 1899. Our author qualifies De Wette's decided rejection of Beller-mann's theory (p. 61): 'Excellent as this judgement is, still it cannot

deprive of his due merit the originator of this attempt to ascertain the Hebrew metre. The attempt itself is and remains most valuable, for it is the first to show us what we have to expect in a metrical direction from the text of the biblical poems, when scanned according to the metrical tone-stress.'

He goes on to criticize the system and soon lays his finger on its most vulnerable point, the doctrine of the morae. The reader may ask what, after all, the system of morae has to do with the metrical division of a line of poetry. The answer given by one school, represented in our day by Ley and Budde (though Ley, as we shall see, changed his view), is that it has nothing to do with it; a line has a certain number of accented syllables, it is 3-toned, 5-toned, &c., without regard to the units of time (morae) in the separate words; it may have as many unaccented syllables as the poet pleases. The answer given by another school, represented now by Grimme, is that the structure of a true verse takes account of both arsis and thesis; the entire line must preserve a certain symmetry with respect to time. I simply state the question at present, that we may note its importance as we proceed. Let it not be supposed, however, that Saalschütz is contending against the system of morae; he is only trying to simplify and rationalize it.

Bellermann held that a syllable with the tone may have either two or four morae instead of the regular three. Upon this Saalschütz observes (pp. 61 f.): 'How can the accent discharge at the same time two such opposite duties? Supposing it increases the value of the syllable, as it might easily do through the weight of the tone, that would suit the case of the two-morae syllable to be sure, but why should it be bound on to the over-weighty four-morae syllable? In that case its over-weight would certainly be still more

strengthened, and so the irregularity would become yet greater. The accent must have some influence on the syllable since, by hypothesis, it makes its irregularity cease to be such; it must either increase or lessen its value, but it cannot do both.' Saalschütz then refers to a class of words like הִנֵּה, which seem to have but two morae in the unaccented syllable. Bellermann tried to provide for this by the rule that final ה does not quiesce after *seghol*. But whence the rule? If ה has its consonant force it should be pointed with *mappik*. Besides, there are similar words with א, as כָּלָא, פָּלָא.

There seems to be no escaping the force of this criticism.

Part II, pp. 97-326, carries the main weight of the book. It is called 'An attempt at a complete, and in a good degree new, representation of the form of Hebrew poetry.' Part III, on the music of the Hebrews, lies outside the scope of our subject. In fact, a large portion of Part II deals with matters so subsidiary that they need receive only a cursory glance.

Chapter I is on the parallelism of ideas. But this may be as perfect in prose as in poetry. Chapter II, 'Poetical word-forms and words,' treats of material rather than metre. Chapter III, 'Regular form of the sentences,' shows that in Hebrew poetry the lines are often uniform, often alternating in length, and that sometimes two words must be taken together. It consists chiefly of citations from Rabbi Azarias and Moses Mendelssohn. Chapter IV, 'Strophes,' is very inadequate, but a few examples are given, as Pss. 42-43, 107, Isa. 9. 11-10. 4, and a few hints toward a theory (which the author hoped to develop later) that *Selah* may be designed to mark strophical divisions. Chapter V, on rhyme, and Chapter VI, on word-plays, I pass over. Chapter VII, 'Had Hebrew verses measure and rhythm?', comes to the heart

of the matter, but confines itself to preliminary grounds in the affirmative.

The first consideration is the improbability that the Hebrews formed an exception to the general rule that ancient peoples began their literature with metrical songs rather than with prose compositions. This is fortified by a long extract from Lowth. Secondly, the Hebrews had music; in all probability, therefore, their poetry fitted it in time-measure. The author replies cleverly to De Wette's objection that early verse, like folk-songs, is rude and irregular. De Wette had cited the song of the witches:

Wir fliegen über Land und Meer
Wie der Wind durch die weite, weite Welt umher.

Saalschütz shows that the time of each of these lines is precisely the same. He adds that even if the words of the ancient Hebrew melodies had been irregular at first, the music would soon have conformed the words to itself.

Thirdly, the lengthened and shortened forms of words in poetry are apparently assumed, as in Greek, Latin, and German, in order that the poet may more readily fit his metres.

Fourthly, the frequent alternation of long and short lines in Hebrew poetry points to a metrical principle; what else could have occasioned it? Fifthly (this is important), those who assert the existence of Hebrew metre are accustomed to advance such considerations as the foregoing, but, as a matter of fact, their belief in it has a deeper source; they *feel* its presence as they read the poetry, and even those who deny that any metrical principles can be formulated often confess to just such a feeling; 'mein Herz sagt es mir,' says Rabbi Azarias. The sixth reason appears in a few concessions by Greve, Anton, and Lowth, and then the general conclusion is drawn that the presence

of Hebrew metre has been made at least very probable. The next step is to establish a formal prosody of the Hebrew language.

Chapter IX, 'Of vowels, half-vowels, and their influence upon syllable-formation.' (By an error in numbering there is no chapter marked VIII.) With one exception this is the longest chapter in the book; it is devoted principally to wrestling with Bellermann over the sh'va.

It is a very pretty controversy. Bellermann had anticipated criticism on his position that the various sh'vas and pataḥ furtive are not vowels and have no time equivalents. Answering the objection that this would render Hebrew poetry rude and repugnant through the heaping up of consonants with no intervening vowel, he admits the fact but denies the inference. The organs of speech, if trained to it, dispose easily of remarkable combinations of consonants. A Frenchman can do nothing with 'schwierig,' nor an Italian with *φθόγγος*, nor a German with the Polish 'rschtscha.' But Saalschütz replies that some Hebrew words begin with *such* a combination of two consonants that the sh'va between them *must* be vocal, e. g. מְדַלֵּג, מְבַא. It lies in the nature of those two consonants that they cannot be heard without an intervening vowel or half-vowel. The case is still clearer when the same consonant is repeated at the beginning of a word, as מְמַלֵּא, לְלַמֵּד, or when the initial consonant is א or ע, e. g. אֵמֶת, עֵמֹד; how can the first letter be heard at all unless the sh'va is sounded? The sh'va, says Bellermann, is nothing but the sign of a vowel-less consonant, affixed by the punctilious care of the Massoretes lest the reader should make the mistake of vocalizing such consonants. But if so, answers Saalschütz, why did they not content themselves with a single sign instead of one simple and three compound sh'vas? And, furthermore, why are most final letters and aleph otiant written without sh'va? for there is just as much

danger of vocalizing, for instance, the א and ח in בראשית, as any other vowel-less letter.

It appears reasonable to believe that *two* consonants *with* sh'va require more time than *one* consonant *without* sh'va. Not so, however, in Bellermann's opinion; a good speaker or singer takes the same time for ich, sich, stich, strich, or for ach, Dach, Schach, schwach. Here, in my opinion, Saalschütz gives a weak rejoinder. He contrasts the combinations 'erst ich' and 'erst strich' to show that *strich* takes more time than *ich*. Of course the hiatus makes a difference. Another fallacy lies in the suggestion that if we pronounce slowly *ich* and *strich* we see that the latter is appreciably longer; the fallacy lies in the word *slowly*. A singer will fill up the same unit of time for each, the metronome proves that; he utters the longer word more rapidly.

On this point Bellermann seems to be right; but Saalschütz makes out a strong case for vocalizing sh'va, adducing further—

(1) The metheg often found with sh'va; (2) the vowel which replaces sh'va in pause; (3) alternate forms like נחנו and אנחנו, which could not be told apart without vocal sh'va; (4) the aleph with sh'va in the alphabetical psalms; (5) sh'va in cognate dialects and in translations. But he acknowledges that often it builds no syllable, and he draws this inference: sh'va is such a sound that at the speaker's will it may either be uttered fully or passed over. Nor is this peculiar to Hebrew, as he shows by Greek and German examples.

Chapter X, though entitled 'Of the accents as recitation signs,' is mainly an attempt to set down precisely, and to connect with antiquity, the tunes of the modern Jewish cantillation. Each word has its own proper melody, which is indicated by the accent. Inflexional changes make this or

that syllable more prominent and draw the accent to it, varying the melody.

Chapter XI, 'Of the accents as pretended tone-signs.' Here the polemic aspect of the book sets in strongly, though the style is still courteous. Accents have been shown to be punctuation marks, and musical marks; why should they also be tone-marks? This third form is *a priori* improbable; and yet it is assumed by the grammarians as if it were axiomatic. In that case, one would think it a simple matter to designate the tone-syllable; but the results of former researches are neither uniform nor satisfactory. (Here he specifies as follows:

'Leutwein, yet without completely carrying out his system; Anton, yet with an intermingling of many arbitrary and incorrect principles; finally, with genuine soundness, fairness and fullness, Beller mann.')

The Jews of to-day, Saalschütz proceeds to argue, pronounce their language according to other rules than those of accent, and as Hebrew has never ceased to be a living speech, it is not likely that an entirely new tone-system has ever been foisted upon them. Looking again at the Massoretic accents, it appears that about a third of them (prepositives or postpositives) *cannot* mark the tone; for they hold a uniform place at the beginning or the end of a word. The poetical books have a double system of accentuation; but if accent marks the tone, would not the Massorettes have indicated which set is to be followed? Sometimes the accent stands on sh'va which cannot have the tone.

In fact, he proceeds, the whole accentual system is far too artificial, and too closely intertwined with nice points of grammar to have been a guide to the common people in the matter of tone-stress. Besides, the majority of Hebrew words are *accented* on the ultima, and it is unlikely that the

Hebrew language differed so radically from Syriac and Arabic where the predominant *stress* is on the penult. Now this is just the practice of the Jews to-day, and presumably of their ancestors. Any one who tries to read Hebrew will find that this is both more rhythmic and more natural. Milra' and mil'el are also more easily explained thus.

Chapter XII, 'Metric and grammatical value of the accents; makkeph, metheg.' A large part of the final syllables, in Hebrew as in other tongues, are mere inflexional appendages, which would not naturally receive the accent. Thus in אֲבִיךָ, the ך as a declension-ending is outside the melody of the word, and the accent happens to coincide with the tone. But in רִבְרֶךָ, while the main tone falls on רֶ, there is an ictus on ך, which is thus brought within the range of the melody; to indicate this it receives an accent.

Another use of the accent is to distinguish words otherwise alike; for example, בָּנוּ 'they built,' בָּנוּ 'in us,' and many more. Now it is altogether probable that בָּנוּ לָךְ 'they built for thee,' was pronounced bánu lák, though the *accent* of the verb remained on the ultima. On the other hand, when אֵל is prefixed to הִסְתָּךְ it becomes אֵלֶיךָ, but if the tone was on the ultima, it is hard to see why it should have been changed, or the vowel shortened. There are many similar cases, leading to the conclusion that the Hebrew relished a trochee at the end of a word. It is hard, too, to believe that a mere euphonic appendage like nun paragogic would change the tone of a word, as it certainly does change the accent. The same reasoning applies to the change of accent with prefixed makkeph. As to metheg, it has the same relation to the ictus that the accent has to the tone. 'If now one gives to a Hebrew word, as is

possible with a slow articulation, the full value of its separate syllables as demanded by the tone, ictus, accent, and metheg, it will sound purely trochaic or more spondaic, according as accent and metheg coincide or not with the tone and ictus. The sentences will thus generally have the rhythm of double measure, the reverse of the iambic rhythm which they would have if tone followed accent. (Strictly speaking, iambics do not give double measure.)'

The reader will perceive the sweeping character of these suggestions, which would revolutionize the customary pronunciation of Hebrew among biblical scholars all over the world, and conform it to the practice of some (by no means all) modern Jews. The reasons assigned, though ingenious, are quite inadequate. For instance, if final *un* attracts the accent to itself, why should it not attract the tone? and the same argument applies in other cases. As a matter of fact, the theory has failed to commend itself.

Chapter XIII, 'The system of morae.' Apart from the points already mentioned, Saalschütz agrees fairly well with Bellermann on this subject. To the objection that when we give almost all syllables three morae we produce a dead level of uniformity, he replies that there is a marked difference of time in enunciating the syllables, and even the letters, of any language (e.g. our *l* and *l'*), but that the mora is the limit, beyond which the tone is not to be protracted. It marks not absolute but relative time; two readers will differ in their rapidity of utterance.

He has to meet the palpable fact that many accented syllables have two or four morae, instead of three, and that some unaccented syllables have two morae. But he finds special reasons wherever possible, and allows a generous margin for exceptions. For instance, in הַפֶּה and הַנֶּה, the last syllable is so weak that the tone-syllable is practically

final, as evinced by the variant forms הַם , הֵן . Though *metheg* does not usually add a *mora* to the syllable, Beller-mann thinks it does in וְאִתָּךְ , and Saalschütz agrees with him.

The summary is worth remembering, especially for the apt illustration with which it closes, even though it seems inconsistent with the previous answer to the same objection.

‘When any one sets out from these observations, and studies the syllables of the Hebrew language, he cannot help finding in them a certain symmetry, and this is all that is claimed for the system of *morae*. If some have thought that such a symmetry would produce monotony, their judgement has been at fault; for it is the tone and the ictus, as already shown, that produce the rhythm of Hebrew speech; and the more uniform the foundation of syllables is, upon which these conditions of rhythm are to enter, so much the more plainly will the rhythm itself stand out. Just as light and shade, which the painter interchanges upon a surface by his art, will produce a better effect, and one more conformable to his desire, if the surface is even, and has equal light over all, than if it is rough and irregular, so that the light strikes it unequally.’

Chapter XIV, ‘On the quantity of the Hebrew syllables,’ and Chapter XV, ‘On the verse-feet of the Hebrew language,’ have important titles, but unimportant and very brief contents. Chapter XVI, ‘On the rhythm of the Hebrew poems,’ is also brief, and asserts quite dogmatically that all Hebrew poems have one and the same rhythm, ‘resembling that of the hexameter.’ He holds that the movement of this verse, and also that of a modern German hexameter, is $\frac{3}{8}$ time rather than $\frac{2}{4}$. Several illustrations are given from Klopstock’s odes. Chapter XVII is ‘On the Hebrew verse as part of the poem, and on its other characteristics.’ For

making metrical out of Massoretic verses, our guides must be the contents, the parallelism, and the accents. Thus divided a whole poem is often found to be composed of lines of equal length, mostly six-footed, which may also be reckoned as three-footed. The variation in the length of a verse frequently corresponds with a change in the thought. In general we must look for a natural rhythm, not the precise and highly artistic metre of the Greeks and Romans. For many cases no strict rule can be laid down. For instance, vocal sh'va may or may not form a syllable; we may pronounce with equal propriety sha-me-rū or sham-rū. By elision of one vowel when two come together, a dactyl may be read as a spondee. 'There rules herein, as I am free to confess, almost total arbitrariness. I have followed my ear withal, and what it offered me as the most natural and *unforced*, this I have accepted.'

The two chapters that follow are devoted, the first to alphabetical, the second to non-alphabetical, psalms. Several examples of each are given; the Hebrew is printed solid, with perpendicular bars between the (metrical) verses; then the whole is transliterated and marked off into feet, the quantity of each syllable being indicated; then follow brief notes on rhythmic peculiarities. It is a work of immense industry, but of little value at the present day, owing to the perverse pronunciation. Dactyls, spondees, and trochees are everywhere; if a troublesome iambus or anapaest presents itself, its head is cut off and called an anacrusis. The author is continually standing on Bellermann's shoulders and forcing the rhythms of his predecessor into his own moulds. The reader shall have a sample of the process, after which he will doubtless be ready to pass on.

Proverbs 31. 14-17.

- 14 hājthā ca- | nioth | socher
 mim-merchak | thabi | lachmah
- 15 vath-thakom be- | od || lajlah
 vath-thiithem | teref le- | bethah
- 16 vchok le- | naa ro- | theha
 sommah | sadeh vath- | thikka- | chehu
 mip-pri cap- | peha | nota | carem
- 17 chagra ba- | os moth- | neha
 vath-ammez se- | roo- | thea.

CHAPTER III

EWALD AND ERNST MEIER

THE nineteenth century was in the midst of its fourth decade before any other important work on our subject appeared (with the possible exception of a book by M. Nicolas, *Forme de la poésie hébraïque*, 1833, which I have not seen). It is true that in 1831 Köster laid the foundation of strophic theories in the *Studien und Kritiken*, pp. 40-131. But I purposely defer the consideration of that topic until we take up the system of D. H. Müller. In 1835-9 Heinrich Ewald published his *Dichter des Allen Bundes*. The first part includes the topic of rhythm and metre. This has never been translated into English. Both the merits and the faults of the great Orientalist are conspicuous in this work; but, pursuing the plan announced, I dwell chiefly on the former. A passing glance is due to a signal sin of omission;—neither Bellermand nor Saalschütz are so much as mentioned in the discussion!

What follows here is an abstract of pp. 94-134 of the *Dichter* (2nd ed., 1866). Pages 134-205 treat chiefly of strophes, and will be examined in a later chapter.

The inner basis of Hebrew poetry is a thought and its answering thought; its outward basis is a verse and its answering verse, together forming a harmony, as in the song of Deborah:

For that Israel's leaders took the lead,
For that the people showed themselves brave.

Now if the formal principle of verse is found in the alternate rise and fall of the tone, poetry is not sufficiently distinguished from prose. But in prose the alternation is subject to chance, and differs widely in successive verses; while poetry demands a *regular* movement of arsis and thesis, which resolves these opposites into a higher unity. This cycle of concordant members, even when completed only once, forms a *verse*, and its repetition leads to an ever fuller and higher development, which with whatever changes and apparent deviations (song, epos, &c.) always moves in beautiful harmony within the twofold law of rise and fall. In the early stages of poetry there is no conflict between the thoughts and the sounds of the words; and the highest perfection of verse-rhythm would be that of expressing, with equal power and beauty, the thought as the soul of speech and the sound as its body; but as a matter of fact the latter encroaches, and the more beautiful the harmony, so much the more readily it seems to suffice alone; here is the rock on which the spirit of poetry is in danger of being wrecked.

But in comparison with other ancient literature, Hebrew poetry remained at a relatively simple stage of development. The oldest kind of verse that we know in any national literature has the form $\text{—} \times \times \mid \text{—} \times \times \mid \text{—}$. In Hebrew such a verse-member contains on the average seven or eight syllables.

Old languages like the Greek, Indian, and Arabic, which permit a fixed and beautiful interchange of long and short syllables, can carry a definite rhythm into every separate syllable of the verse-member. The Indians did not borrow this rhythm from the Greeks, nor the Arabs from either; Indians and Arabs, as soon as we can trace their history, are acquainted with the progressive rhythm $\times \text{—} \times \mid \times \text{—} \times \times \mid \times \times \text{—}$, while the Greeks have the reverse, $\text{—} \times \mid \text{—} \times \times$. And all

alike have not only the unequal foot $\times \text{—}$, $\text{—} \times$, but also the fuller $\times \times \text{—}$, $\text{—} \times \times$, or $\times \text{—} \times \text{—}$, $\text{—} \times \text{—} \times$.

But many languages knew little or nothing of this fine interchange of short and long syllables, and confined themselves in pronunciation to the most necessary sounds. In its earliest period, the Hebrew was numbered among these. 'On that very account, then, the Hebrew was disinclined to any syllabic rhythm in verse; and this finest achievement of the poetic tone-art, whereby the entire verse-movement in the poet's mind becomes plainly audible with the full beat of the very first sounds, remained strange to the Hebrew verse.' True, the Spanish Jews imported into Hebrew from the Arabs a syllabic metre, and modern German Jews have imitated the Greek and Latin metres: but neither tendency was native to the Hebrew. Other languages, too, abounded in rime, alliteration, word-play and refrains; Hebrew made but sparing use of the two last, and no use of rime and alliteration; it was too earnest a speech, too large in its scope.

And yet it was not unrestrained; the members of a verse could not be unduly protracted; the number of syllables, though not rigidly exact, was fairly regular; extending to seven or eight syllables on the average, it might reach to nine or eleven, it might be shortened to five or six. There being so few monosyllables, the voice had to mark the rise by a stress of tone; the simplest line would be $\text{—} \times | \text{—} \times | \text{—}$. Such a syllabic metre Syriac has possessed ever since it has been known, i.e. since the early centuries of our era; later writers added end-rime through imitating Arabic and Persian. The rhythm may vary with the feeling of the poet, still preserving its equality of syllables; Syriac writers have illustrated this fully. Since Hebrew stood near to Syriac, one might conjecture a similar tone-law for its verse-structure. In truth, there was nothing of the sort. Take

even the smoothest Hebrew verses, as Prov. 10. 1-22. 16, or Pss. 111 and 112, there is great, but not full, similarity in the number of syllables ; but a syllabic rhythm calls for precision.

Another possible law of rhythm prevailed in antiquity among all Germanic peoples, and still holds in their folk-songs. Every important word in a verse or verse-member counts as a rise, receiving a tone-stress ; two or three such appear in every verse or verse-member, while the subordinate words (more or fewer) are passed over rapidly. In spite of its simplicity there is here a plain and definite tone-law ; any lack of symmetry felt by the ear is supplied by the rhymes which occur. These last are wanting in Hebrew poetry ; it belongs to the class represented in ancient times by Egyptian and Chinese, in modern times by languages of the very simplest structure. Even throughout its entire manifold and magnificent development Hebrew poetry remained characterized by a *rhythm of mere verse-members* ; this we are now to investigate more particularly.

I. *The nature of the Hebrew verse-rhythm.*

As we have seen, there is no precise law for the number of syllables in a measure ; when it exceeds or falls short of the average of seven or eight we shall be able to adduce special grounds for the fact. Usually each member, especially the first member of a verse, forms an independent sentence ; the Hebrew language is so compressed that the average of seven or eight syllables suffices for such a sentence.

At times the compression goes further ; an independent phrase of from three to five syllables forms a member, and two such phrases form a line, as

Hear, ye rulers ! mark, ye princes

 / x / x | / x / x

or within the phrase itself a part springs up anew, as

I to Jahwe, I will sing,
 ˘ × ˘ × | ˘ × ˘
 (will) sing to Jahwe, Israel's God.
 ˘ × ˘ × | ˘ × ˘

Had the Hebrew held by this original tone-law that every member should consist of two smaller members, it would have produced a regular syllabic metre. But a new tendency soon set in to blend the subordinate with the principal phrase, as

Jahwe ! when thou didst march from Seir,
 or,
 Sing to Jahwe that he was high, yea high.

Now to the first member, as arsis, there is joined a corresponding thesis. Languages with syllabic rhythm can indicate the contrast by a tone-stress upon a given syllable in the line; although this is impossible in Hebrew, the voice tends upward in the arsis, and gravitates to a rest-point in the thesis; an example that illustrates all similar cases is in Judges 5. 12, עֹרִי in arsis, עֹרִי in thesis :

Up now', up now', Deborah !
 Up now, up now, sing the song !

But though two members, rising and falling, make the essential elements of a verse, the verse is not obliged to stop at this simplest form. There may be a mere enlargement, as from a trochaic dimeter to a trimeter; or a composition, as a hexameter and pentameter distich. Or there may be diminution instead. All these forms are treated freely in Hebrew, and require close attention. Syllabic metre being absent, the rhythmic energy of the thought must pervade the verse-members, and as two members correspond each must express a similar thought; hence parallelism of members is funda-

mental to Hebrew poetry. The methods of this expression may vary, giving rise to different stages of the harmony. As

(1) An echoing of the whole sentence, e.g.:

Hear, my son, thy father's instruction ;
Reject not thy mother's teaching.

In prose we should put both parents in the same sentence.

(2) A less vivid, more sluggish rhythm, where the sentence is merely too long for a single line :

Into their own nets may the wicked fall,
while I withal escape.

(3) Between these stands a rhythm that expresses harmony of thought rather than of form :

Were I hungry, I would not tell it thee,
For mine is the world and all its fullness.

II. *Extent and limits of the verse.*

It has a great variety of form corresponding to the various emotions that call it forth, but the one harmony rings through all, perceptible even in the minutest portions.

1. Occasionally, but seldom, we find a single member without anything to answer to it ; e.g. Ps. 23. 1 :

יהוה רעי לא אחסר :

2. Not only the fundamental but the most frequent verse is in two members. An example has just been given under 1. (1).

3. A verse containing more than two members arises

(1) By enlargement, as from two parallel and equal members to three, for instance :

Let the enemy persecute and take my soul,
And tread my life down to the ground,
And lay my honour low in the dust.

This never proceeds beyond three clauses.

(2) By composition ; under this are several varieties :

(a) *ab + cd*, that is, four members in two pairs. This is the grandest, most dignified rhythm :

In my distress, I call on Jahve,
Aloud I cry to my God :
He from his palace hears me calling,
My cry doth pierce his ears.

(b) two unequal parts, either *a, bc* :

For a thousand years in thy sight
are but as yesterday when it is past,
and even as a watch in the night.

Or, *ab, c* :

We will triumph in thy salvation,
Magnify the name of our God ;
Jahve will grant all thy prayers.

(c) four members, two equal and two unequal ; *a, bc, d*, for example :

Have mercy on me, O God, have mercy on me,
For my soul is trusting in thee,
And to the shadow of thy wings I fly,
Till the peril is o'er.

(3) A verse of several members may assume new forms through concentration or abbreviation. The first two members of a quatrain may be united into one prolonged member, the other two remaining as before, so that *abcd* becomes *Ac d*, e.g. :

Mountains of Gilboá, no dew, no rain || come upon you, nor
fields of offerings !

For there the shield of heroes is defiled,
The shield of Saul, not anointed with oil.

There are many such cases, in some of which we might almost go back to a genuine quatrain, but in others this is

clearly impossible. Again, a verse of five members, like Ps. 17. 14, may take the form ABde, where AB = abc.

Such are the limits of verse-structure. It is plain that even the longest verse has a fixed axis, an inner unity. But if a single verse can develop the thought no farther, the verses that follow it can take up the same thought, note Pss. 96. 12, 13; 98. 8, 9. Cf. 8. 4-9.

The rhythm sometimes depends on a refrain taken up in a later verse (hail-stones and coals of fire, Ps. 18. 13 f.), and this may be endlessly varied.

III. *The verse in relation to varieties of poetry.*

1. Gnostic or proverb-rhythm, a quiet, even measure, comparable to the Greek dactyl or spondee. The outer form is that of two simple, corresponding members, averaging seven or eight syllables each; as to the inner form, the verse must be independent, and compress the full thought into this brief compass, the two halves forming sentence and counterpart or fact and image. Only later proverbs are more extended.

2. Lyric poetry, on the contrary, overflows with the pressure of thought and emotion into longer and reduplicated forms, though these too have their fixed limits. The unequal measure resembles the iambus or trochee, is brilliant with varied colours, is disharmony resolved into harmony. Hebrew song-art is extremely pictorial and emotional.

3. We cannot say that dramatic rhythm shows itself in the book of Job, which is of a gnostic cast, except a few highly tragic passages, which however are lyric in form. In the Song of Songs we find a peculiar rhythm; not the elevated style of the cothurnus, but a free picture of everyday life; each verse is in two halves, none longer than five members, two verses often uniting to form a long line.

IV. *The verse in relation to the course of history.*

1. In the oldest known songs, Num. 21, Exod. 15, Judges 5, we have a springing and lively rhythm; especially in Deborah's song one seems to hear the beat of music, the circling dance of the singer. No later poetry attains to such beauty, simplicity, and power. The form is in harmony with the content; the verse-members are short, and, though there are exceptions to this, there is no such artificial prolongation as occurs at a later period.

2. In the Davidic age rhythm reaches its boldest flight and its fullest development. In lyric poetry the first member of a verse may be uncommonly prolonged. Toward the close of the eighth century, with a falling off in poetic fire, the expression also is feebler; how tame, for instance, is Ps. 48. 8 :

With storm from the east
He shatters Tarshish-ships.

It must be granted that the age produced many *graceful* verses; the book of Job furnishes the greatest example of this artistic manner. But the inner power could not return.

3. After so many varieties of rhythm had arisen poetry took an eclectic turn, copying the several forms with free selection. This is noticeable in the book of Lamentations and the rest of the alphabetical poems. Belonging also to the sixth century are certain other forms :

(1) The long-membered, in distinction from the many-membered verse; a typical example is Ps. 19. 8-11; see also Isa. 14. 4-23.

(2) What we may call a trochaic verse, the first member standing to the second in the proportion 1 : 1 | 2, which inequality resolves itself by the repetition of the verses; see Ps. 121.

Already, then, in the sixth century Hebrew poetry was in course of transition to a more regular and mechanical mode of composition, which reached its height in the philosophical passages of Koheleth.

V. *Conclusion.*

1. It results from the free form of ancient Hebrew verse that we are not to look for syllabic metre in it; what was before unlikely is now seen to be unreal, in fact impossible. True, many recent writers suppose themselves to have found this, but only from the erroneous view that all poetry of all peoples must have a syllabic metre. Not one of them has actually found a tolerable or even possible metre; all such attempts should be abandoned, for the uncertainty of the traditional text will always prevent their success. And yet the text cannot be *so* corrupt but that we could find traces of a syllabic metre if it ever existed; even if the true pronunciation be utterly lost, our eyes tell us that the members of many verses differ greatly in the number of their respective syllables. But the apparent metrical defect is a real gain; the spirit of poetry is all the more predominant when the form becomes secondary.

2. How ought Hebrew poetry to be rendered into languages which are acquainted only with syllabic metre? An attempt at too nice imitation of the original is almost sure to sacrifice something of its true spirit; it is better, then, for the translator to study thoroughly the Hebrew idioms, but to express his version in the idioms of his own tongue.

3. Our survey sustains the Massoretic division of verses against the occasional deviation of ancient and modern versions, which sometimes make the verse-member the unit instead of the verse. This practice overlooks the connexions and the separations of the poet's thought. Still, as the oldest manuscripts were written stichically, and the present

form of printing Hebrew poetry grew out of the desire to save space, we shall do well to return to the former method, and also to follow the Massoretes in analysing each stichos into its subtler divisions.

Thus far Ewald, in as full a presentation as space permits. A few remarks may be appended before we proceed.

We have in him one of a series of writers on Hebrew metre who devise their own systems with little regard to their predecessors; as Budde observes in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, the several theories are in juxtaposition without being correlated. Such a correlation, therefore, is left for the critics to attempt. As compared with the two systems already examined, Ewald has certainly brought us some things that are new. The broader outlook is conspicuous, and the keener insight; as we read him we feel ourselves placed at the modern point of view, every part is related to the great whole; 'harmony,' 'cycles,' 'development' are frequent terms. His polemic against a rhythm of syllables is a negative judgement which may be left untouched until we have heard from the affirmative side. Yet he himself does count the syllables, claims that their number is fairly regular in each line, and gives the limits of possible variation. He notes the various kinds of tone-stress in a foot, though not so fully as his predecessors; on the other hand, he groups the lines, whereas they had left them unrelated; but there is a gap in his system. He jumps from the single foot to the marshalling of lines, and does not account for the variety of ways in which the feet are combined. Lines that we have learned to distinguish as 3 + 3, 4 + 4, 3 + 2, 2 + 3 he lumps indiscriminately as ab or 1 : 1. He would pay no regard to the great irregularities which are found, as above, among the psalms of the middle books. His long-membered verse is simply the *kind*. It is a curious

coincidence that both he and Bellermand use the term 'trochaic' as an imperfect illustration of the rhythm of Ps. 121, although Bellermand refers to foot-measures, Ewald to line-measures. In general, Ewald's use of symbols shows a confusion of mathematical relations; e.g. $A = ab$, but $AB = abc$, instead of $abcd$, and the like. His chapter on the verse in relation to the course of history is quite superseded by modern historical criticism.

About the middle of the nineteenth century Professor Ernst Meier of Tübingen, known as a commentator on Isaiah and Joel, as well as on the poetical books of the Old Testament, made a new contribution to Hebrew metrics, which is entitled *Die Form der hebräischen Poesie*, a thin octavo volume of 120 pages, published at Tübingen in 1853. This was succeeded by several other works which apply his theories on a wider scale. The preface tells us that he found the key to the system here presented by a ten years' study of Suabian popular literature, embracing its folk-lore, legends, manners and customs, fairy tales, songs, and nursery rhymes; eminent fellow countrymen like Uhland and the brothers Grimm took the liveliest interest in his results. He then proceeds to say:

'Although it was only out of pure joy that I gave myself up to this business, yet at the same time I have gained far more for the understanding of the Old Testament through my travels of discovery in Suabia than would ever have been possible from a journey to Jerusalem. This may seem strange to many, but it is really so.'

The first chapter of the book, 'The species of poetry in general and of Hebrew poetry in particular,' opposes Hegel's thesis that all poetry begins with the objective Epos, which is followed by the subjective Lyric, and this by the union of both in the Drama. Professor Meier looks sensibly at the

facts, and shows that lyric poetry is fundamental, and that Hebrew poetry is nothing else but lyric, if we may group didactic or gnomic poetry under that head, and include in the group the theologico-political popular orations of the prophets (rhetorical lyric).

Chapter II is on 'The form of Hebrew poetry in general.'

Song, with which all poetry begins, is originally linked with music. An expression of feeling which is at once vocal and musical will manifest itself according to rhythmic rules, that is to say, lyric song has necessarily verses and strophes. The most essential distinction between poetry and prose is not in the contents, the lofty thoughts, the pictorial expression, &c., but just in the form of representation, the rhythmic measure, the structure of verses and strophes. But the attempts to find the original rhythmic form of Hebrew poetry have had little success. There is no such syllabic metre in Hebrew as in Greek, Latin, and Arabic; the accented syllable is regarded as long whether its vowel is short or long, and all syllables not under the tone are short. Bellermann started correctly on this basis (says Meier), but he adopted the misleading syllabic structure of iambi, trochees, &c. Saalschütz added the error of putting the chief stress on the penult, and likening Hebrew poetry to classic hexameters. He could not carry out this theory without the greatest arbitrariness. But these writers are nearer the truth than De Wette and Ewald, who will admit no definite measures of time and rhythm in Hebrew poetry, but only 'rhythmic prose'—which is no poetry at all, and 'the pure movement and dance of thought'—which gives no intelligible idea. The ruling opinion at present (i.e. in Meier's day) is that parallelism of members constitutes the only definite characteristic of Hebrew poetry. Even if this were true it would be a designation according to form rather than thought. But it is not true; much of what is clearly poetic,

like Jotham's fable, presents no parallelism of structure. Besides, in both the prose and poetry of all peoples we find this same parallelism of members prevailing; it is merely more constant and regular in Hebrew than elsewhere.

Chapter III, 'The particular form of Hebrew poetry.'

The Hebrew lyric has rhythmically measured verse-lines and regular strophes, for

(1) Philo, Josephus, and other ancient writers expressly testify to this.

(2) It is indubitable that the Hebrews had melodies. See Amos 6. 5; Isa. 5. 12, &c. The שיר must have been singable; this leads at once to regularly recurring strophes.

(3) The Hebrews danced to the music of their songs. See Exod. 15. 20, 1 Sam. 18. 6, &c. This implies rhythmically articulated melodies and regularly constructed strophes.

(4) The alphabetical poems are themselves strophes, each letter introducing a rhythmic passage of equal compass with every other. (Meier's opinions on strophes will be noticed in Chapter VI of this book.)

The simple theory of Hebrew versification is as follows: The rhythmic time-measure, the musical beat, which is always present in songs, is indicated by the accent. This is the same in poetry as in common prose. It is the position of certain syllables in the verse which gives them the chief tone and accent, and that position depends on the poet's pleasure. Thus time and rhythm are duly set in relief. The law of pausal accent, which is of a purely metrical nature, gives the poet great freedom. Also short syllables with a by-tone may be lengthened at will by the accent. Then, too, the music may glide over a long syllable, or dwell on a short one, and thus make the rough places plain. Finally, our present Hebrew text is not always pure, but has suffered mutilations, transpositions, glosses, and insertions; by putting

into operation the rules of metre foreign elements may be more readily detected and removed.

We perceive now that in Hebrew the same simple law holds as in German, where accent alone determines the rhythm. More precisely, in Hebrew every verse-line has *two* tone-syllables or rises. Any number of other syllables that can be pronounced within the given duration of time may either precede or follow these. The language can thus become very pictorial. The time-beat and the qualitative measure correspond in general to a double iambus and its variations $\times \text{—} \times \text{—}$; $\text{—} \times \times \text{—}$; $\times \times \text{—} \text{—}$. It may be reduced to three syllables, $\text{—} \times \text{—}$; $\times \text{—} \text{—}$; or even to two, $\text{—} \text{—}$. The three and the four occur together at Ps. 33. 9 :

כי הוא אמר ויהי הוא צוה ויעמד :

and in Ps. 39. 9 there are two consecutive verses of two syllables each :

מכל פשעי

These measures may interchange at will in every line and strophe, only the time remains always the same. To speak musically, all Hebrew verses are in $\frac{2}{4}$ time, the natural beat of the march, one, two ! The same movement can be regarded as $\frac{4}{8}$ time. There may be additional unaccented syllables at the beginning, or the end, or both.

For an illustration of the metre take Samson's answer in Judges 14. 18 :

בענלתי		לולא חרשתם
חירתי :		לא מצאתם

In Judges 15. 16 the rhythm is very precisely measured :

בלחי החמור חמור חמרתים
בלחי החמור הביתי אלף איש :

In the song of Lamech, Gen. 4. 23 f., there are three strophes of four lines each ; doubtless the music prolonged the third

line of each strophe, giving to the seghols the effect of two rises : נִשִּׁי לִמָּךְ, וַיִּלֶּךְ, וְלִמָּךְ.

By means of the unaccented syllables this fundamental measure permits a very free treatment. The lines are usually from four to eight syllables long, at times nine or ten, two syllables being accented, the rest pronounced rapidly. A similar rhythm prevails in the Eddas, in many German folk-songs, and also (though this is more regular) in Greek tragic choruses. In general the matter is very simple; a few examples are given in the Appendix (i.e. Meier's).

(These are Psalms 9-10, 23, 34, 39, 44, 93, 114, 148, together with Job 3. I give Psalm 114.)

Vorstrophe.

1 a.	Bezét Jisraël	ו - ו - ו -
	mímmizraim	- ו - ו
	bét Jaqob	- ו -
	meám loes,	ו - ו -
	hajetá Jehuda	ו ו - ו ו -
	léqodscho,	- ו -
	Jísraël	- ו -
	mámschelotav.	- ו ו -

Gegenstrophe.

1 b.	hajjáam raa,	ו - ו -
	vájjanos,	- ו -
	hajjardén	- ו -
	jissób leachor.	ו - ו ו -
	heharím raqédu	ו ו - ו ו -

ke-elim,	- u -
gebaot	- u -
ki-bene zon.	- u u -

Vorstrophe.

2 a.	ma leka hajjam	u u - u -
	ki tanus?	- u -
	hajjarden,	- u -
	tissob leachor?	u - u u -
	heharim tirqedu	u u - u u -
	ke-elim?	- u -
	gebaot	- u -
	ki-bene zon?	- u u -

Gegenstrophe.

2 b.	millifne adon	u u - u -
	chuli arez,	- u - u
	millifne	- u -
	eloah Jaqob!	u - u u -
	hahofki hazzur	u u - u -
	agam majim	- u - u
	challamisch	- u -
	lemajeno majim.	u - u u - u

Whoever cannot perceive in this fine ode, says Meier, the marked rhythm and the precise metrical measure of verses and strophes will never hear the same from any Arabic

poems, for these are no more regularly measured than the above psalm. Then follow some interesting remarks on the strophic structure of the psalm which must be adjourned.

The alphabetic restoration of Pss. 9-10 (pp. 76-90) resembles Bellermann's in many particulars, though it often suggests other emendations, and always neglects to give credit to its predecessor.

Meier's closing remarks on verse-structure are important : 'Any one who reads and divides the Hebrew text in accordance with my translation of the Psalms will readily find out for himself the syllables to be accented. With Proverbs and Job this is easier, owing to the close and regular structure. But one must forget the *too* regular scanning that moves in stiff precision (das im steifen Tritt und Trott fortgehende Scandiren); we must put a little study first on the German folk-songs or the *Nibelungenlied*, and, led by the melody, we must discover the rhythm which fits the words. By way of example here is a little 2-toned dance-song :

Auf der Álb hat's einen Schneé
 Und im Thál hat's einen Reífen ;
 Mein Schátzle will trutzen,
 I au' desgleíchen.

Now if one should scan that, after the fashion of certain modern song-books, in prim trochaic paces,

Auf der Álb hat's éinen Schneé, &c.,

all musical euphony and genuine rhythm would be dispelled.'

The critics of Meier with one voice cry out against his breaking up of the text into such minute portions. 'The first objection against this hypothesis,' says Kuenen (*Ein-*

leitung 3. 23), 'is of an aesthetic nature; are not such short, skipping lines as he professes to find everywhere in the Old Testament wholly unacceptable? If they occurred *with others* we should have no reason to deny their existence, but it seems incredible that they should have been used exclusively.'

More curtly Schlögl (prize essay, p. 26): 'It is plain to any one that Meier's versicles are nothing but verse-commas.'

I am inclined to reply, What of it? If Meier has discovered the true rhythmic *movement* of a given poem, is it not in the main a matter of indifference whether we read the text, with him, in 2-toned lines, or with Sievers in 4-toned lines, or with Ley in 8-toned lines? One might as well argue against Ginsburg's *Psalter* because it is printed stichically. Or, to take a closer parallel, it is only the unreflecting who would fail to perceive that Mrs. Hemans's *Bernardo del Carpio* (cited above) is in the 'common metre' of hymnody.

There is no doubt some danger—but this is a different matter—that one who looks for 2-toned measure everywhere will insert accents where none are needed. It is really astonishing that Meier should have started from the resemblance between Suabian folk-lore and *some portions* of Hebrew poetry, and then have made a colossal leap to the uniform movement of *all* Hebrew poetry, not scrupling to alter the text when the theory demands it (see his 'Poetical books,' *passim*). Shall we not expect to find, rather, that each species of poetry has its most natural and appropriate rhythm? For my part I draw an opposite conclusion from the sublime sentence in Ps. 33. 9 to that which Meier presents thus in his preface:

'It needs no argument that the Massoretic accents, including especially the pause-accents, must often be aban-

doned. For instance, in Ps. 33. 9 the form יְהִי stands where plainly according to the rhythm יְהִי is to be read :

Ki hu amar	$\times \text{ } \text{—} \times \text{ } \text{—}$
vayehi,	$\text{—} \times \text{ } \text{—}$
hu zivva	$\text{—} \times \text{ } \text{—}$
vayaamod.	$\text{—} \times \times \text{ } \text{—}$

If a nursery tale were before us it might be drawled out like that. But reading for the sense, and emphasizing only the proper words, as in English, we shall mark the energy of the divine *fiat lux* :

For he spake and it was done ;
He commanded and it stood fast.

כי הוא אמר וַיְהִי | הוא צוה ויעמוד :

Despite this excess of uniformity and some minor defects, Meier's system deserves more regard than it has received. It makes an advance over Saalschütz and Beller mann by the freedom of its movement. In a multitude of cases it anticipates the metrical divisions given to the Hebrew text by the latest writers. It comes closer to the scansion which I have endeavoured to develop in a natural way in the inductive chapter of this book than any of the other systems we have thus far examined. Also it must be added, in fairness to Meier, that he is incorrectly represented (by Kuenen, for instance, *ubi supra*) to hold that the poet may put into a single verse as many unaccented syllables as he pleases. Schlögl (p. 26), though writing in Latin, is careful to cite here Meier's exact words : 'as many as can be pronounced within the given duration of time'—'während der angegebenen Zeitdauer sich aussprechen lassen' (from Meier, p. 25). The meaning of *angegeben* here is not altogether clear in itself, but it seems to indicate the equal duration of every

foot in a given verse (strophe). This is made still more probable on the next page (26): 'These measures may interchange at will in every line and strophe ; only the time remains always the same.' If the word *Takt* in this sentence is correlative with *Zeitdauer* in the previous quotation, like a musical *beat* and *measure*, this observation of Meier's is of the first importance.

CHAPTER IV

LEY AND BUDDE

THE association of Ewald and Meier in the last chapter was simply chronological, though to be sure there is more of a genetic connexion than the latter is willing to admit. But now that we have come to our own generation, I place in the same category two names, Julius Ley and Karl Budde, that belong together by the larger affinities of their metrical tendency, although they are often criticizing each other in matters of detail.

It must have been some gratification to Ley that he lived long enough to change the current of hostile and often ill-considered opinion which set so strongly against his theories in their early stages, and to be recognized as *a* founder, if not *the* founder, of present-day metrical science. Perhaps the change was as much in the theories themselves as in his critics; a change altogether to his honour, since it represented a continual welcome of new light; *consistencie's a jewel* was not spoken of the soul in its apprehension of truth.

The long succession of his books and essays on Hebrew verse-structure extended over thirty-five years, until his lamented death in December, 1901. Nor did it cease even then, for elaborate papers which he had prepared on various branches of our subject have since been published in Stade's *Zeitschrift* and in the *Studien und Kritiken*. 'He has done more to establish correct views of Hebrew poetry than any other

since Lowth' is the verdict of Professor Charles A. Briggs (*Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 369).

Professor Ley's first book, which appeared in 1866, was devoted mainly to an investigation of alliterative forms in Hebrew poetry, which he compared with those in Old and Middle High German. He sought to show that such forms are strongly marked in the poetical passages of the Pentateuch and of other pre-Davidic(!) literature, that they grow less prominent in the psalms of the Davidic age and the proverbs of Solomon, and that they merely survive in the latest compositions. The very statement of the thesis shows how far criticism has travelled in the last four decades; Ley himself left this early work far behind, and indeed soon abandoned alliteration as a cardinal principle of Hebrew verse-structure. It is noticeable that in his latest published essay he assigns these same 'proverbs of Solomon' to a later date than that of Deutero-Isaiah¹.

As the bibliography at the close of this book is arranged by years, not by authors, it will be convenient to group together here references to the principal publications of Dr. Ley.

Articles in Reviews.

'Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik.' 1871, 1872.

'Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik.' 1891, 1893.

'Studien und Kritiken.' 1877, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1899, 1903.

'Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.' 1892, 1901, 1902.

Books.

Die metrischen Formen der hebräischen Poesie. Leipzig, 1866. 80.

¹ Apparently; see *Studien und Kritiken*, 1903, p. 183. But perhaps 'aus späterer Zeit' has an indefinite meaning.

Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebräischen Poesie. Halle, 1875. 80.

Leitfaden der Metrik der hebräischen Poesie. Halle, 1887. 80.

In the last-named work he amends and simplifies his system in accordance with growing experience, and with the criticisms especially of Professors Eduard Riehm and Adolf Merx. He also gives a metrical analysis of the entire first book of Psalms, with copious notes.

But his chief book is the *Grundzüge*, which extends to 266 pages (there are but ninety in the *Leitfaden*). This contains, besides a comprehensive argument for the presence of rhythm in the Hebrew writings, and what might be termed a grammar of the whole subject, a thorough analysis of seventy psalms, chosen from all the five books. Then follows a similar treatment of Gen. 4. 23, Exod. 15, Deut. 32, Judg. 5, 2 Sam. 22, and Lam. 1-4. The general position is so well stated in the brief Introduction that I present the substance of it at this point.

The Massoretes deserve great credit for their vast and varied labours on the text of the Old Testament, but still they could not give a faithful picture of the original speech, which had been a dead language for centuries, and was known to them only through traditional recitals and through ceremonial songs and prayers in their schools and synagogues. What they could do and did was to fix with greatest precision in perpetual moulds every tone and syllable as their learned predecessors had handed them down. Now such a stereotype process contradicts the very nature of a living, progressive speech, and it is incredible that Hebrew, during the entire thousand years of development within which the Old Testament was composed, preserved the precise cast that the Massoretes have given to it. On the

contrary, there are plain traces even in the consonantal text of altered pronunciation and new formations.

Still, the present text offers a good foundation for investigating a higher antiquity, and the Massoretic tradition is right in the main as to the determination of the tone-syllable—a matter in which nearly all languages show great tenacity. With regard to the vowels, it enables us to approximate to the actual pronunciation of the last centuries before Christ, provided we make use at the same time of the general laws of language, the related dialects, and the Septuagint transcription of Hebrew names and words.

But, on another side, the mischief of the Massoretic tradition becomes evident. In taking pains to fix *also* by all sorts of accent-signs the cantillation used for centuries in divine service they have not only effaced many traces of genuine rhythm and metre, but they have made that very accentuation an insurmountable obstacle in the path of subsequent inquirers who strove to discover the metre by its means, and many of our recent savants have felt obliged to infer that Hebrew poetry never had any rhythm or metre at all.

Fortunately, however, there have survived from the earliest times evident marks of rhythm and metre in archaic poetical endings and in various remnants of verse and strophe division. On the basis of these, and of an enlarged knowledge of metre, it has become possible to rediscover the leading features (*Grundzüge*) of metre in Hebrew poetry, and to reproduce in good degree the verses and strophes of its original form. The metre corresponds to the peculiar genius of the Hebrew language, for although we find analogies of this and that sort in the classics and in the Old German, we must distinguish carefully between analogy and essence. Musically similar all these languages may be, and external resemblances to anapaests and paeons do actually occur in Hebrew, but it is characteristic of the latter that one metre

(by which Ley means a single foot) can form a gradation of tones which rise through the measure and culminate in the tone-syllable. Symmetry is the fundamental principle of verse and strophe structure. The verse shows a regular and symmetrical articulation such as occurs in almost no other language. The simple strophe, composed of similar verses, bears little resemblance to the outward form of a classic strophe, but in content it excels it by the intensity, the depth, and the warmth of the emotion expressed, while yet it falls short of the classic strophe in respect to the distinct articulation of its members.

Thus reads the programme which Professor Ley sets before us. If he can make good his claims the existence of a Hebrew metre is established. We proceed from the promise to the performance.

Chapter I treats of 'The rhythmic laws' under the following subdivisions :—(1) Existence of rhythm. (2) The accent as the principle of rhythm in Hebrew. (3) The gradation in accentuation. (4) Character of rhythm. (5) The constitutive principle of metre in Hebrew poetry. (6) On the cadence. (7) On elision. (8) On the anacrusis (*Auftakt*).

The main argument, which did not go long unchallenged, is in section 1, which I reproduce with some fullness.

Although the testimony of the church fathers, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, &c., as also that of Philo and Josephus, is explicit that hexameters and tetrameters are present in Old Testament poetry, it must be received with caution, quite apart from its unscientific confounding of Semitic and classical prosody. For it has an apologetic aspect, as though sacred must not be put below heathen poetry, and as though the origin of classic metres must be ascribed to Hebrew poets. But on the most general grounds it may be

asserted that no poetry can be unrhythmical which is bound up with song, music, or dance, and this relation in Hebrew is witnessed by the psalm titles, and by the very words for song, which seem to be derived from the idea of orderly recurrence that distinguishes poetry from prose.

If one should disregard the accents and vowels as of late origin, still the numerous consonant endings that occur exclusively in poetry point to a rhythmical need which can only be explained by rhythmical structure; see Appendix 2 (Ley's) on the relation of the poetical endings to rhythm. Looking only at the outer form of verses and verse-sections one observes a mutual resemblance which bespeaks a certain feeling for symmetry. On the average the number of words in the various verses or sections is equal, often also the number of syllables. It is not, however, the counting of words that decides the measure of the verse-sections, for often three long words correspond to four shorter ones, or two longer to three or four shorter.

Again, it cannot be denied that the older poetry appealed to the ear rather than the eye, and circulated orally for generations before being committed to writing (compare the Homeric poems); hence it must have had a rhythmical measure for the ear, and the symmetry that the eye now discovers is a result of that rhythm.

In fact, it can be asserted *a priori* that Hebrew poetry must have had a rhythm, because no poetry is without it; even the rude beginnings of poetry among savage and uncivilized races do not lack it.

Until recently, therefore, it was the general belief that rhythm was present in Hebrew poetry. But since all attempts to establish it have failed, it has become the fashion, especially since De Wette, to deny it altogether.

(Then follow tempting promises of what is to be expected from his own book.)

Instead of giving the remaining sections *in extenso* I will follow the outline which Ley inserts at the close of Part II, and which, in the absence of index and table of contents, may serve as finder to the telescope. If any apology is needed for so extensive a treatment it may be found in the popular ignorance of what is really taught by the Metriker.

OF RHYTHM.

§ 1. Principle of rhythm.

Rhythm in Hebrew poetry, as in German, is determined by the tone (accent)¹. Accented syllables count as *longs* or *rises*, unaccented as *falls*. True, the accentuation is also determined, as in German, by the *significance* (logical principle) of the syllables, since that syllable which is significant to the concept receives the tone, especially in the verb; but because in Hebrew the word-stems mostly consist of three consonants and two syllables the quantity and the position of the syllables exercise an influence on the accentuation.

§ 2. Relation of rhythmic accentuation to that of the text.

The accentual signs have also their value for rhythm, but only so far as they serve to determine the tone-syllable. This determination is fully confirmed, not only by the tradition, but by the character and forms of the language itself. To be sure the signs come from a later time, when the language had long ceased to be a living one, and they did not receive their final form until the end of the tenth century A.D.; none the less, the accentuation cannot have differed much when the language was in full use. On the other hand, these signs have no significance at all for actual rhythm when they serve to indicate the height and depth of the tone, and also to determine the relation of the word in the sentence and in the verse-period.

¹ This identification is Ley's. His words are 'durch den Ton (Accent) bestimmt.'

These last relations connect closely with cantillation, a song-like recital, which gradually developed into a full system in the early centuries of our era. Cantillation originated in the synagogue, and was quite foreign to the living language; the so-called poetical accentuation of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job is subservient to cantillation. But cantillation knows no genuine rhythm; often it contradicts the latter, and it has caused it to be wholly forgotten. Its influence, moreover, has wrought disturbance and confusion in the matter of the tone-syllable, and while the grammatical rules for accent are generally valid in this matter, they need a closer investigation, to which we now proceed.

§ 3. The rhythmic rules of accentuation.

(1) Every significant word has at least one tone-syllable. The tone falls either on the ultima or the penult.

(2) Untoned syllables that precede the tone-syllable are subordinated to it, and constitute with it a sort of tone-system; they form, so to speak, a scale of rising tones, culminating in the tone-syllable. Without respect to quantity or quality the tone-syllable itself always has the most marked accent, the *high tone*; the untoned syllable standing next before it has a higher tone than that which stands in the third or fourth place. But such a gradation is possible only when the distant syllable is less important than the nearer one; an extreme example of the rule is וכל־חכמתם, Ps. 107. 27; an example of the exception is ותקופתו, Ps. 19. 7, where the vowel of the antepenult belongs to the stem, and that of the penult is only tone-long; in such cases the antepenult receives a tone of its own (deep tone).

(3) If the antepenult is of *equal* weight with the penult it may take the deep tone, especially when the suffix has the high tone and the antepenult belongs to the stem, e.g. ומעונותיהם, Ps. 107. 17. Here the tone-syllable of the suffix is not strong enough to subordinate the antepenult which

belongs to the stem, which hence receives the deep tone and makes a climax for the previous syllables. But we may call such syllables doubtful, as their accentuation usually depends in part on their position in the verse.

(4) The preformatives ב, ו, כ, ל, מ (for מן), whether with sh'va or a vowel, and the particles אל, את (sign of acc.), מן (אם) never have the tone, and are prefixed as proclitics with makkeph.

(5) The poetic forms במו, כמו, למו, מני, אלי, בלי, עדי, עלי are toneless if a tone-syllable follows, otherwise accented.

(6) The other monosyllabic particles (with which are grouped אשר and הנה) and the monosyllabic pronouns are regularly toneless and proclitic, but sometimes take the tone when they stand before untuned syllables, and the sense gives them a certain emphasis. If two of these occur in succession only the second is accented.

(7) לא in the midst of a verse-section never has the tone, but in composition or combination with other particles, and at the beginning of a verse-section, it may have.

(8) At the end of a verse-section, where the feeling for rhythm is strongest, two successive tone-syllables are inadmissible; either the words must be united by makkeph, or the first word throws back its accent to the previous syllable, providing that contains a stem-consonant.

Exception. The two tone-syllables may stand if the first is closed and has a vowel letter, since such a syllable is regarded as containing three time-measures (morae), two for the rise and one for the fall, e.g. כבוד אל, Ps. 19. 2. Nun paragogic may produce the same effect.

(9) Vocal sh'va suffices to separate the two tone-syllables, or a poetic ending like *mo* is sometimes inserted.

(10) When an accented monosyllable ending in a vowel is immediately followed by a tone-syllable beginning with א or ה the first tone is elided and the two words are combined.

The same thing may occur at the end of a section even when the second word is a disyllable accented on the ultima, as בני אדם, Ps. 31. 20.

(11) Unimportant particles, pronouns, and adverbs, vocative and interjectional phrases may stand without an accent at the beginning of a verse-section, as anacrusis (*Aufstakt*).

(12) The tone-syllable may be followed by one syllable, and only one, as a cadence. In the midst of a section such a cadence may be wanting, but at the end it seems to be a rhythmical necessity. To effect this the accent is thrown back (a volatilized syllable taking a full vowel), or poetic endings are added, or the final vowel is extended (*gedehnt*) so as to make with its consonant three morae.

OF VERSE BUILDING.

(1) Every tone-syllable with the cadence that follows and the untuned syllable that precedes makes *one* metre. No attention is paid to the number of untuned syllables. Even a single arsis may form a metre, as in Ps. 33. 9 :

כי הוא אמר ויהי הוא צוה ויעמד :

This line, with but twelve syllables, is the metrical equivalent of Deut. 32. 1, which has nineteen, not counting in either case the sh'vas and hatephs :

האזינו השמים ואדברה וחשמע הארץ אמרי פי :

But the character of the verses is entirely different ; the second is prolonged and pathetic, the first animated and expressive. Accordingly the poet's art depends not only upon establishing *a* metre that is correct as to the requisite number of rises, but also upon the formation of *the* metre that corresponds to the contents. Observe, for example, in Ps. 2, the first two strophes (vv. 1-6). Verse 1, an exclamation, is animated and brief ; verse 2, a description, is

more prolonged; verse 3 depicts the fury of the kings in quick and decisive movement; vv. 4-6, representing Jahve in his heavenly rest, over against their rage, have a much more uniform movement throughout, save that the second half of verse 5 is more rapid, as befits the divine wrath.

(2) Several metres combined in one whole form a verse. The extent of the verse thus depends on the number of rises or tone-syllables. In the articulation of the verse the fundamental principle is the symmetry of the parts. This symmetry of metrical members bears the same relation to form as the so-called parallelism bears to the sense. By this means the verse-structure presents an art-form as individual as it is beautiful.

(3) One may regard the *octametric long line*, which numbers eight rises, as the oldest verse of the Hebrews, and in a certain way, as the fundamental form, from which the other kinds of verse have developed themselves. The articulation of this verse is either dichotomic, that is, it divides itself into two equal verse-sections of four rises each, or trichotomic, containing three parts of three, two, and three rises. There may be still other permutations.

Examples. Ps. 89. 10-16, seven successive verses of this type, divided in 4 and 4. Ps. 7. 9, 3 + 2 + 3. Ps. 6. 7, 2 + 3 + 3. Ps. 11. 5, 3 + 3 + 2.

(4) The most frequently recurring verse is the hexameter, which counts six rises. It is either

(a) dichotomic, in two sections of three rises each, as Ps. 92. 2, or

(b) trichotomic, in three parts of two rises each, as Ps. 20. 10, or

(c) less often, with a freer movement, 4 + 2 rises (Ps. 86. 8) or 2 + 4 (Ps. 31. 16).

(5) The decameter counts ten rises and permits a varied articulation:

(a) Two halves of five tones each, subdivided into $3 + 2$ (Ps. 19. 8) or $2 + 3$ (Ps. 42. 5).

(b) $3 + 4 + 3$ (Ps. 133. 2) or $4 + 2 + 4$ (Ps. 50. 1), or some other arrangement in threes (two different ones appear in Ps. 42. 9, 10).

(c) Five equal parts of two tones each (Ps. 14. 4).

(6) As an independent verse the pentameter is used only in the elegy (Lamentations); in the Psalms it stands in close union with the preceding or following verse, to whose articulation it belongs; e. g. Ps. 14. 5, 6 is $2 + 3 - 3 + 2$, and Ps. 2. 10, 11 is $3 + 2 - 3 + 2$, for שפִּט־אֶרֶץ should be joined by makkeph.

Remark. Just so with a half verse of the octameter or hexameter; it can form no verse by itself, but must always be connected with the following verse; thus Ps. 23. 1 must be read with verse 2, making a decameter $4 + 3 + 3$.

(7) The octameter, hexameter, and decameter may also be lengthened by a half line, but the full strophe keeps the regular measure; thus Ps. 12. 6 and 7 make three octameters. (This is an error; the scansion gives only $12 + 10$ tones. Corrected in *Leifaden*.) In Ps. 146. 6-9 each verse has nine tones; thus each pair of verses forms three hexameters.

(8) Longer verses than those just mentioned are not known to strophic poetry. Hence we must often begin a new line where the present text does not indicate the division; thus Ps. 1. 1 is $2 + 2 + 2 - 3 + 3$.

(9) All these varieties of verses are also used catalectically, i. e. they are shortened by one beat; sometimes, but seldom, by half a line. A catalexis, less often a hyper-catalexis, serves to show the close of a strophe or poem.

The following psalm may serve to illustrate the rules that have been given.

Psalm 127.

1 אם יהוה לא יבנה בית | שווא עמלו בוניו בו || אם יהוה לא ישמר

עיר | שווא שקד שומר:

2 שווא לכם | משכימי קום | מאחרי שבת || אכלי לחם העצבים | כן

יתן לירידו שנא:

3 הנה נחלת יהוה בנים | שכר פרי הבטן:

4 כחצים ביד גבור | כן בני הנעורים:

5 אשרי הנבר | אשר מלא | את אשפתו מהם || לא יבשו | כי ידברו |

את אויבים בשער:

The psalm consists of four strophes of two hexameters each. Note the recession of the accent in יבנה, verse 1, אכלי, verse 2, to prevent a concurrence of tones, and the insertion of the article in הבטן, verse 3, for the same reason. Observe the ambiguity of tone in the monosyllabic particles, לא, vv. 1, 5; כן, vv. 2, 4.

The remainder of the Outline treats of strophe-building, and will come up in Chapter VI.

In his later book, *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebräischen Poesie*, Ley reaffirms and illustrates the principles of the *Grundzüge*, often in identical words. There are some subtractions, chiefly under the head of the strophe, but no material additions, except a clearer treatment of the cesura and an inclusion of the construct state among the frequent proclitics.

So far as the same examples are chosen in the two books the analyses are very similar; compare, for example, Ps. 2 in *Grundzüge*, p. 248, *Leitfaden*, p. 31. We must not allow ourselves to forget that these elaborate rules for

metre are merely assumption and hypothesis as yet, and that they remain so unless they can be justified by the natural reading of the Hebrew text. Apart from the theoretical principles laid down, it is fair to ask whether the metrical divisions and reconstructions of the eighty poems in the *Grundzüge* commend themselves to the reader's ear and judgement. The answer is of a somewhat mixed nature; in the homely English phrase, the author's fingers are too often thumbs. We have already come in contact with his arrangement of Ps. 33. 9, which improves upon Meier's eight tones by reducing them to six; there are, however, but four needed for a natural and forcible delivery.

Of course such psalms as we took up first in the inductive chapter are so obviously rhythmical that one cannot go far astray in scanning them. It is not surprising, therefore, that Professor Ley's conclusions on Pss. 67, 82, and 100 (he does not examine Ps. 54) are practically identical with our own, though his terms are different. But when he reaches the difficulties instead of facing them boldly he evades them. It will be remembered that out of the three middle books the following were mentioned in our first chapter as specially irregular: Pss. 45, 55, 62, 64, 71, 75, 79, 83, 84, 86, 95, 102. After analysing all the sixty-five psalms in those three books, and setting aside the twelve just mentioned I was curious to see how Ley would treat them. To my great surprise only two of the twelve were to be found in his list, namely, Pss. 75 and 83. It may be remarked in passing that in Sievers' extensive collection of Textproben not one psalm from the three middle books is considered. This collection, it is true, was gathered by Buhl with the avowed object of including only those poems which are most probably metrical, but even in Sievers' *Stellenregister*, which is more generous in its scope, not a single reference is made to any of the difficult psalms above named. Now, if we are

to draw conclusions respecting Hebrew poetry as a whole our observations must take in facts of every sort, not merely those that are kind to a particular theory.

But let us see how Ley explains Pss. 75 and 83. The former he makes hexameter throughout, except verse 2, which is 4 + 4. But surely there is no stress on the כִּי which opens verse 3; that verse is 2 + 3, and just as evidently there *is* a stress on כֵּל in verse 4—that verse is 4 + 3. As athnah falls on the penult in verse 5, the next word, a word of five syllables, most naturally has two accents, so that verse is 3 + 4. The next two verses are the first to come under the so-called hexameter—they are 3 + 3; verse 8 is 2 + 2 + 2 (so Ley). But the trouble culminates in verse 9, upon which Ley remarks:

‘According to the metre the difficult and disturbing וַיִּין חֲמֹר cannot be reckoned in; it is either a parenthesis or simply a gloss.’

That is to say, *the metre demands* something, which is out of order, for the very question before us is whether there is a metre to make the demand. Grant the gloss, and still the first line is too long, 3 + 4, and the second too short, 3 + 2. ‘Two hexameters with compensation,’ says Ley. But this theory of compensation whereby a long line may be followed by a short line, and both be regarded as the metre of the average line, was so riddled by the critics that Ley himself dropped it, and announced the fact thus in his preface to the *Leitfaden*: ‘The notion of compensations and substitutions, since these indeed have given especial offence, has been entirely given up.’

We are left, then, with the following consecutive feet in Ps. 75. 2–9: 4 + 4, 2 + 3, 4 + 3, 3 + 4, 3 + 3, 2 + 2 + 2, 3 + 4 (+ gloss?), 3 + 2. One can postulate, if he will, a certain rhythmic movement in the psalm, but we have a right to deny a regular rhythm or metre.

As to Ps. 83, it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that Ley sets out with the announcement that the psalm contains five strophes, the first three with four hexameters each, the last two with three hexameters each, and then adds that 'compensation' occurs in verses 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, i.e. in a majority of all the verses. But as there is no compensation, Ley himself being witness, the psalm is left hanging in the air, with its larger portion unexplained. If these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? Ps. 71 is a desperate case, and who can fathom Pss. 86 or 95 or 102?

As already mentioned, the *Grundzüge* investigates ten passages outside the book of Psalms; I will say a word on the first of these, Gen. 4. 23, 24. In his fondness for octameters our author makes the song of Lamech an octameter distich. To do this he has to make a distinct pause between the construct נשי and the governing noun למך. Surely this is unnatural; there are but three tones, as in English:

Wives of Lámech, give éar to my wórd.

The principles assumed as the basis of Ley's system were at once assailed in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, pp. 747-64, by Professor Karl Budde, who thus, like Saalschütz, began to publish on this subject at the age of twenty-four. The article, on 'pretended metrical forms in Hebrew poetry,' gives a running refutation of all previous systems from Gomarus down, but spends its main strength upon Ley. The *Grundzüge*, to be sure, was not issued until the following year, but already in 1871-3 Ley had laid down his theses, both grammatical in general and rhythmical in particular, in the *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, and had promised a book which was to present the analysis of a body of Hebrew poetry in accordance with his system. This promise Budde treated somewhat flippantly, remarking that others of

the Metriker had pledged the same thing and failed, but that doubtless we could count on success this time. Whereupon the editor of the *Studien*, Professor Eduard Riehm, took pains to set the matter right in a footnote. Ley had laid before him the manuscript of the coming *Grundzüge*, and the substance of it at least ought to be published in the interest of science.

Budde's early criticisms are not set aside by the fact that he afterwards partly changed his view; they must be allowed whatever weight belongs to them intrinsically.

Recent authors, he says, have tried to solve the problem by postulates, and have believed themselves able to show the necessity of metre before exhibiting its proofs. But all such *a priori* reasoning is easily shown to be untenable. One asserts that all the oldest poetry is metrical, but this rule has exceptions, as in Old Egyptian; the oldest German poems, too, have only the faintest beginnings of a metre. Analogies are unsatisfactory, for it cannot be maintained that poetry without metre is unthinkable. No one would deny the name of poetry to the odes of Klopstock and many similar pieces which are destitute of metre in the sense of a regularly measured cadence recurring according to certain laws.

Again, it is maintained, for example by Diestel in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, that Hebrew poetry must have been metrical, because according to ancient testimony many songs were accompanied by music and dance. But though the *music* of the songs must have a settled measure, why must the text? There are thousands of instances to the contrary, of which the most striking perhaps is the present practice in the Anglican Church of singing the Psalms, translated quite unmetrically, to the melodies of the choir, in such a fashion that the same melody is cleverly adapted to every verse whether short or long. (This is Budde's own illustration.)

It is yet more useless to point to the peculiar poetical words, word-forms, and idioms of Hebrew poetry as distinguished from prose. If, as is claimed, these were invented to fit the metre, whence the multitude of such forms that are the precise metrical equivalents of corresponding forms in common prose? The truth is that all elevated speech, as well as poetry, demands its own characteristic diction, a greater abundance of words and forms, a more melodious diction than the language of common life. Julius Ley's recent essay in the *Jahrbücher* on the poetical endings can only establish at most a certain melodic cadence, not a genuine metre.

By means of postulates this question can never be settled; rather, we must demand that every system shall draw its justification directly from the poems themselves.

(Budde's next ten pages criticize the earlier systems, coming back to Ley at the close.)

In the system of Ley nothing is left to chance, everything from greatest to least has its fixed law. We must marvel either at the subtlety of metrical feeling among the Hebrews, or at the acuteness which could discover such a system after 2,000 years. Every exception only makes a new rule, and one is less inclined to object to the rules than to use them against each other. It cannot be denied, indeed, that the Hebrew language lends itself readily to such an attempt at metrical system. By its compressed expression, each clause being commonly condensed into a word, by its frequent proclitics and enclitics, its parallel clauses, and the like, it is quite easy to produce symmetrical verses. But Ley's arbitrary treatment of the material passes all bounds. It rests entirely within his pleasure whether a given word shall have two tones or one, whether prepositions, negatives, even significant words shall be toned or toneless, whether an accent shall retreat or maintain its position. We must demand of any such system

that at least it shall preserve consistency, and not break over its own rules with constant licences and exceptions. Now Ley postulates, to begin with, various kinds of verse—the octameter, decameter, hexameter, and pentameter. This is only another way of saying what has often been noticed, that a Hebrew verse usually contains five, six, eight, or ten words. But at once we stumble on a host of exceptions. The octameter is 4 + 4 tones, or 3 + 2 + 3, or 5 + 3, with several other varieties; clearly these are feet of different rhythmic value. In the next place, the octameter expands to twelve tones, or is shortened to seven, with various other changes; the hexameter may have five, six, eight, or nine tones. One may, with Ley, extol the manifoldness of Hebrew verse-forms, but not the system that has to adopt such a manifoldness, say rather lawlessness. (Here Budde brings a strong indictment against the principles of compensation and substitution, both of which Ley afterwards surrendered.) One advantage, certainly, cannot be denied to his exceedingly laborious and subtile work. He has called attention to the frequency in Hebrew poetry of a certain equipoise of rhythm, which is very grateful to the ear, although we must stand decidedly on the defensive if one would make a metrical system out of this freely-moving rhythm.

So Budde wrote in 1874. One who reads his article 'Poetry' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1902) will find an entire change of tone, marked by great courtesy to the author whom he then criticized so severely. Each had approached the other perhaps in equal degree.

The analyses in Ley's two books are almost confined to the Psalms. In later years he applied his theories to other fields. 'The metrical condition of the book of Job' was considered in *Studien und Kritiken* for 1895 and 1897. A similar treatment of Isaiah, chap. 1, may be found in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* for 1902,

Part II, and of Deutero-Isaiah in *Studien und Kritiken* for 1899 and 1903. During these years his theories were being gradually modified under criticism. 'Ley has constantly sought to perfect his system,' said Budde in 1902. Starting with the octameter as the unit of measure, which expanded and contracted in the most elaborate fashion, the manifest product of a modern professor's study rather than of an ancient poetic genius, he has yielded point after point till we find in his latest article on Deutero-Isaiah a concession which has not yet received the attention it deserves. 'In the following analysis I have adopted, after Grimme, two 4-toned lines in place of what I have called an octameter; moreover, in opposition to him, five 2-toned stichoi instead of my earlier decameter.'

So, then, after fighting all his life for these complicated rhythms, the protagonist of modern metrical science sends us a message after his departure which reduces the whole matter to a welcome simplicity. The life work of Ley now joins on to that of Meier and Bellermann. How he also comes to terms with Grimme we shall see further on.

A short specimen is here appended of the natural and reasonable rhythm which Ley now finds in Deutero-Isaiah. The only remark he makes on these five lines is that both sense and metre call for a word after כְּחַנְבִּים, and he suggests לִפְנָיו. Not even this is necessary, as the former word may well have two tones.

Isaiah 40. 21, 22.

21 הָלוֹא תִדְעוּ הָלוֹא תִשְׁמְעוּ | הָלוֹא הִנֵּה מֹרְאֵשׁ לָכֶם |

הָלוֹא הִבִּינוּתָם מוֹסְדֵי הָאָרֶץ :

22 הִישָׁב עַל חֹג הָאָרֶץ | וַיִּשְׁבִּיהַ כְּחַנְבִּים |

הַנוֹטָה בְּדָק שָׁמַיִם | וַיִּמְתָּחַם כְּאֵהֶל לִשְׁבֹּת :

As the reader perceives, the common text gives three perfect 4-toned lines and two perfect 6-toned lines. Deutero-Isaiah as a whole is much more regular than the Psalms.

In 1874 Budde closed his polemic which we have been following in these words: 'Perchance this attempt (i. e. Ley's) to point out fixed rhythmical forms in Hebrew will be the last? The future must reveal. The possible methods appear to be about exhausted, and at all events a shattering of any one of them may serve as a warning for successors, and as a summons to caution for those before whom a new system is laid.'

The glove thus thrown down was taken up in 1882 by Budde himself. He begins his article in the second volume of the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* by alluding pleasantly to this change of base. Since 1874 a new king had arisen who knew not Joseph; a system which we shall examine in the next chapter had entered the arena, and had caused Budde to react in Ley's direction. Also, more light had broken forth from the Word, for Budde himself had discovered a 'fixed rhythmical form' in Hebrew poetry. The book of Lamentations, he tells us, is a work of high art, not on account of its acrostic form, which is merely outward and mechanical, but from the peculiar poetic structure of its verses. This characteristic form was noticed in a general way by Lowth and others, but was first described accurately by Keil. (This is an error; see Introduction.) In Hävernicks *Einleitung*, 1849, Keil gives a true account of the metre; it has been more precisely analysed by Ley. Each verse falls into two stichoi with plainly-marked cesura; usually there are three tones in the first member, and two in the second. Thus Lam. 3. 4:

בלה בשרי ועורי שבר עצמותי:

(Budde here analyses the first four chapters of Lamentations, showing the great preponderance of the 3 + 2 line.)

Chapter 5 has only verses 2, 3, 14 in this measure; perhaps the author intended to work it over. We will call the measure *kind*. There are three modifications of the scheme which the poet himself seems to have considered allowable, besides an occasional irregularity, like 4 + 3, which may be due to an imperfect text.

(1) 4 + 2, as Lam. 2. 13 a:

מה אעורך מה אדמה לך הבת ירושלם

or 2 + 4, as Lam. 3. 56:

קולי שמעת אל תעלם אונך לרוחתי לשועתי:

(2) 2 + 2, when the first two words are long and weighty, as Lam. 1. 1 c:

שרתי במדינות היתה למס:

(3) Apparently 2 + 3, but helped by a rhetorical pause after the third beat, as Lam. 1. 10 c:

אשר צויתה לא יבאו בקהל לך:

As to the first four chapters of Lamentations, then, it may be asserted that the writer intended the *kind* verse throughout, not simply 'as a rule,' or 'for the most part.' Later editors overlooked this, hence occasional lapses in our text. The question now arises (Budde continues), what induced the adoption of this especial form? Is it arbitrary, or are there appropriate grounds for this and no other rhythm just here? We must compare its occurrence elsewhere.

Isa. 14. 4-21 has just this same rhythm, which is carried through with most painstaking diligence, e. g. in vv. 13-15:

וְאֹתָהּ אָמַרְתָּ בְּלִבְּךָ | הַשָּׁמַיִם אֵעָלֶה || 13

מִמַּעַל לְכֹכְבֵי אֵל | אֲרִים כִּסְאִי ||

וְאָשֵׁב בְּהָר מוֹעֵד | בִּירְכָתִי צָפוֹן:

אֵעָלֶה עַל בְּמִתֵּי עֵב | אֲדַמָּה לְעֵלְיוֹן: 14

אֵךְ אֵל שְׂאוֹל תוֹרֵד | אֵל יִרְכָתִי בֹר: 15

Ezekiel has a whole group of such pieces; chaps. 19. 1, 14; 26. 17; 27. 2, 32; 28. 12; 32. 2, 16. He uses the very term *kinâ*. A large part of these chapters is in 3 + 2 measure. Jeremiah has it in chapter 9, which refers to the professional mourning women. Examine carefully vv. 9-21. In ver. 20 the *kinâ* is plainly audible:

כי עלה מות בחלונינו	בא בארמנותינו
להכבית עולל מחוץ	בחורים מרחבות

There are similar 'Klagelieder' in Jer. 22; Amos 5. 1; 8. 10; Mic. 2. 4, &c.; Hos. 6. 9 ff.; Isa. 1. 21 ff.; 22. 3, 4; 23. 16; Obad. 6. 7, &c.; Nahum 2. 1-3; Zeph. 1. 4, 5; 2. 12 ff.; Isa. 47; Ps. 137. A like rhythm appears in other poems that are not lamentations, as Pss. 42-43; 19. 8 ff.; 27. 1-10; 65. 5-8; 84; 101; 121; 126-131.

It is admitted, on the other hand, that David's lamentations over Saul and Abner are not in this rhythm, but perhaps the only *official* *kinâ* was that of the mourning women. When the *kinâ* was once established, it may have been used as a mere form (like any verse-form with us) for other compositions.

To sum up: we have recognized, and separated clearly from all others, a definite sharp-cut verse-form; the *known* use of this distinct form reaches back into far antiquity. The members of this verse are separated in *sense*, not by a merely formal metre. The parallelism of members becomes here a sub-parallelism, the two members uniting to form one meaning. But the *kinâ* verse must have arisen through a modification of the even-membered verse. So, then, the Hebrew verse in general (as well as the stichos) must have had poetical form, not merely rhetorical character; a decisive refutation of strophe-building on the stichos.

(The remainder of Budde's paper argues against strophic theories as a whole, and closes with the wish that scholars

would desist from that branch of investigation until we have penetrated more into the nature of the Hebrew *verse*.)

This article, which fills fifty-two solid pages of the *Zeitschrift*, produced a profound impression, and brought to a belief in *that* variety of Hebrew metre some who had been as sceptical as Budde was at the outset. Doubtless Paul Ruben goes too far in the way of needlessly disparaging other workers, when he uses the following language (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1899, pp. 432 f.): 'In the midst of all the sleepers, one man has remained awake: Budde, whom we may justly style the discoverer of the Qina-metre.' But there will be larger assent to what he says directly afterward: 'Nobody who really wants to grapple with the difficulties of Old Testament criticism can afford to neglect the study of these epoch-making articles.' The plural in this last word points to other papers by Budde in the same Journal. In 1883, he devotes seven pages to an examination of Jer. 38. 14 ff., which fortifies his position materially. For ver. 22 introduces the mourning women, and gives their very *kind*, which is in 3 + 2 measure.

In the volume for 1891, pp. 234-47, Budde finds fifteen verses of 3 + 2 form in Deutero-Isaiah, including the whole of chapter 47. 'Only the form of the *ḳinâ* remains,' as most of these are triumph songs. But Isa. 1. 21-31 is genuine *ḳinâ* in substance as well as form.

In the volume for 1892, pp. 261-75, he answers Duhm's criticisms in his *Jesaia*, and goes through each verse of Lam. 1-4, marking every verse-member, and emending the text where he thinks it necessary. Often he defends the received text, for example at Lam. 2. 20:

למי עוללת כה	ראה יהוה והביטה
עללי טפחים	אם תאכלנה נשים פרים
כהן ונביא:	אם יהרג במקדש אדני

'Endings, כה, טפחים; halves, והביטה, אדני, פרים. Löhr would cancel פרים, I see not why: it is neither contrary to the metre (necessary rather), nor to the grammatical form, see *Gesenius-Kautzsch*, 135, 5. *Rem.* 1, &c. Instead of פרי בטנם (Ewald), פרים should stand, even for the metre's sake.'

Ley always claimed that Budde's *ḳinâ* verse was his own elegiac pentameter; whereas Budde always held that it was an important variety. For the latest arguments of Budde, see Hastings' *Dictionary* (Poetry); for those of Ley, see *Studien und Kritiken*, 1903, p. 183. To an onlooker the two contestants seem to agree better than they think; for the question before us does not concern the history of a custom, but the form of a verse. As to priority, both go back to Bellermand, as I have shown in the Introduction, since writing which I find that König (*Stilistik*, p. 315), who attempts to show that Bellermand anticipated Budde, has cited, oddly enough, a quite general remark of the former on Lam. 1, instead of the crucial passage on Lam. 3, which occurs at p. 137. On the whole, the metrical points in which Ley and Budde came to a final agreement are more numerous and weighty than their differences, and we may continue to consider them together as marking an important epoch in the study of Hebrew rhythm.

CHAPTER V

BICKELL AND THE SYLLABLE

WE have reached the parting of the ways between the advocates of accentual and of syllabic metre; it may be advisable to look back and see what connective threads of progress can be traced thus far. In the first place, Beller-mann's forward step has never had to be retracted, namely, that which broke with the tendency to scan Hebrew verse by quantity after the fashion of the classic metres. Though for convenience' sake, he continues to use the terms hexameter, accent, &c., he is careful to explain that they indicate only a general resemblance, while Hebrew has its own peculiar verse-measures, which developed according to its own laws. He is remarkably catholic, also, in avoiding insistence on a rigorous uniformity of structure: 'There is probably not a single long poem, with always equal, precisely corresponding poetic feet.' Of the other authors examined, Saalschütz only says that Hebrew rhythm *resembles* hexameters, while Ewald, Meier, Ley, and Budde agree more closely with Bellermann.

In the second place, each verse is composed of feet whose rhythm is marked by the accent, the prevailing foot resembling the iambus ($\times \text{—}$). Saalschütz's attempt to prove a predominant dactylic or trochaic metre has failed; but his criticism is valid against the slurring over of sh'va and pataḥ furtive; so $\times \text{—}$ exchanges with $\times \times \text{—}$, $\times \text{—} \times$, $\times \times \text{—} \times$, as the main variations; which is precisely what we find to be

commonest in English verse. In Ewald's system, as shown above, there is a gap between the single foot and the verse-groups. He pays very little attention to the inner rhythm of the verse; still, his affinities are with Bellermann rather than Saalschütz. He contrasts the primitive Greek $\text{—} \times \mid \text{—} \times \times$ with the 'progressive' Oriental rhythm $\times \text{—} \times \mid \times \text{—} \times \times \mid \times \times \text{—}$, and although he denies that primitive Hebrew knew 'this fine interchange of short and long syllables,' the examples he gives from Deborah's song, and David's lament, are prevailingly iambic or anapaestic.

Meier's basis is a 'double iambus and its variations.' Ley's general principle places the tone on the ultima, or the penult, and his 'gradation,' 'tone-system,' and 'cadence,' produce the various feet symbolized by $\times \text{—}$, $\times \times \text{—}$, $\times \times \text{—} \times$. Budde's most regular *ḵinâs*, as Isa. 14 and Lam. 3, are of the same order.

In the third place, there is perfect uniformity as to the formal principle of the rhythm, which is found in the stress of the tones, not in the number of the syllables. Bellermann's language on Ps. 119 deserves to be cited again.

'Since the Hebrew does not count syllables, but weighs feet, not even these octostichs can be named by syllables, or else it would be obvious to term them dodecasyllables, the majority consisting of six-foot lines, with two syllables to the iambic foot' (which is precisely Bickell's arrangement in the *Carmina*). 'But this,' Bellermann continues, 'would be to mistake the genius of the Hebrew language.'

Saalschütz, so far from holding to an exact syllabic metre, remarks that for many cases no strict rule can be laid down. 'There reigns herein, as I am free to confess, almost total arbitrariness. I have followed my ear withal, and what it offered me as most natural and *unforced*, this I have accepted.'

Ewald is very earnest and repeated in his opposition to

syllabic metre. Although he states that a Hebrew verse *averages* eight or nine syllables, his range of variation runs from five to eleven. Meier says, 'There is no such syllabic metre in Hebrew, as in Greek, Latin, and Arabic'; on this point, Bellermann is not quite orthodox enough to suit Meier, who fails to see that the former's 'iambi,' &c. are *so-called* feet, not strictly metrical feet.

Ley goes so far in disregard of syllabic rhythm that he counts only the rises, and permits any number of unaccented syllables with them¹. Budde, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, distinctly ascribes to this opinion of Ley's 'the overwhelming weight of probability.'

We come to the consideration of Professor Gustav Bickell's syllabic metre, therefore, with a mass of authorities, if not of evidence, against him. There is to be added also on the same side whatever value attaches to the investigation of the three middle books of the Psalms in the first chapter of this treatise; for even such regularity as we found would have been greatly diminished had we insisted on syllabic uniformity.

But then, Professor Bickell would accept heartily what was said near the close of that chapter: 'If all Hebrew poetry is metrical, its metrical principles are not yet manifest, and at all events are very different from those of English poetry.' He would observe that this is exactly what we ought to expect; that Oriental poetry should be compared with its own kind, not with Occidental; and he would proceed to draw out, with great ingenuity, the parallels between Hebrew and Syriac verse. We have the testimony of an opponent (Dr. Schlögl, in the *Litterarisches Centralblatt*, 1902, no. 1) that no one can hear Professor Bickell recite Hebrew poetry without being impressed with the wonderful

¹ A posthumous article of Ley's takes the contrary position.

smoothness and melody of the verses as he divides them. Another opponent (Professor Briggs, *Biblical Study*, pp. 258 f.) makes the following frank acknowledgement: 'Dr. Bickell, whose familiarity with Syriac literature and Hebrew scholarship are well known, has, as must be admitted, carried out his theory with a degree of moderation and thoroughness which must command admiration and respect. The theory is attractive, and demands fuller consideration than can be given to it here.'

Turning from opponents to advocates, we might refer (see lists in Döllner and Schlögl) to a dozen or more scholars who have espoused—some of them warmly—the contention of Bickell; and we should not need to include the name of Merx, whom Bickell partially follows, or those of Gietmann and Duhm, who partially follow him. It must not be forgotten, however, that we are concerned rather with evidence than with authorities, and primarily with the truths of a system instead of its errors.

Bickell, like Ley, has written three principal books, and many periodical articles, on Hebrew metre.

Books.

Metrices biblicae regulae exemplis illustratae. 1879.

Carmina Veteris Testamenti metrica. 1882.

Die Dichtung der Hebräer. 1882.

Periodical Articles.

'Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.' 1878, 1880, 1882, 1885, 1886.

'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.' 1879, 1880, 1881.

'Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.' 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894.

It is interesting to trace the origin of a system that has had so wide consequences. In the preface to his earliest book, Bickell gives the needed information.

‘Already in the year 1868 Cardinal Pitra had pointed out the right way, in his most learned book, *Hymnographie de l’Église grecque*. For while he proved that the ecclesiastical odes of the Greeks are metrical, and are derived from the *madraschi* of the Syrians, he conjectured that these very odes originated from the sacred poetry of the Hebrews. He was persuaded to this opinion, especially by the resemblance of the *madraschi* to the hymns of the Therapeutae described by Philo. Following this path, therefore, I have compared as closely as possible the poetry of the Hebrews with that of the Syrians—a kindred and neighbouring people—and I have adapted (*adaptavi*) the same metrical rules to the Hebrew songs which I had proved to belong to the Syriac (*S. Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena*, pp. 31–35).’

At the close of Bickell’s second book, he gives two extended specimens of these hymns of Nisibis, the metre of which closely resembles that of our modern English church hymns, the first in 7. 4, the second in 6. 6. I give a stanza of each:

Zu', mávto, mén barnošó,

Dof kád 'abdáv,

Niró d'morúteh mámlekh

'Al beryotó!

Mó domé leh "nído

L'háv damkó šekhíbo,

V'dóme mávto l'chélmo,

Óf nuchómo l'čáfro!

It will be observed that the first example is iambic, the second trochaic. The simplest way to state the chief con-

tention of Dr. Bickell is to say that all Hebrew poetry may be arranged (and should be) under one or the other of these types. Nothing could be more revolutionary, or more important if true. In the *Zeitschrift der d. m. Gesellschaft*, 1881, p. 415, Dr. Bickell states his general principles more fully, but yet succeeds in condensing them into a single sentence (the italics are his, the figures mine):

‘Hebrew Metric rests on the same foundations as the *Syrian*, and the Christian-Greek that arose from the latter; namely, (1) on the *counting of syllables*, (2) the disregarding of quantity, (3) the regular interchange of toned and untuned syllables, (4) the identity of metrical and grammatical accent, (5) the coincidence of the verse-lines (*stichoi*) with the divisions of the sense, and (6) the connecting of homogeneous or heterogeneous *stichoi* into symmetrical and mutually equivalent strophes.’

Points (2) and (5) agree with all the systems we have examined; point (4) favours Bellermand and the rest against Saalschütz; point (6) goes over to the next chapter; points (1) and (3) constitute the peculiarity of the system of Bickell. By far the greater part of his books is devoted (and wisely) to illustrative examples; the rules themselves, and the special cases and exceptions under them, have to be picked out from his various writings, especially the *Carmina Veteris Testamenti Metrica*. But this work has been admirably done already by Professor Johann Döller (pp. 42-6 of his *Rhythmus, Metrik und Strophik in der biblisch-hebräischen Poesie*, Paderborn, 1899); it is best, then, simply to follow his lead.

General rules for counting the syllables.

Helping vowels (e. g. the *seghol* in *הָאֵרֶץ*) and half vowels (vocal *sh'va*, compound *sh'va*) are regularly uncounted. *Pataḥ furtive* is never counted.

A helping vowel can never receive the accent; a half

vowel only when in the same word a second syllable follows with the accent, and with a full vowel; thus in Psalm 1. 3. והיה is pronounced *véhajá*.

Rules for the metrical accent.

In general it coincides with the Massoretic accent, but there are certain deviations:

1. At the end of the verse the accent is regularly drawn back to the penult, hence verses with an even number of syllables are trochaic, with an odd number iambic.

Exception (not given in Döller, but see *Carmina*, p. 228): A verse of four syllables joined with one of seven syllables in either of the schemes 7. 4 | 7. 4 or 7. 7. 7 | 7. 4 is assimilated to the iambic rhythm, and admits the accent on the last syllable.

2. The first and second persons singular of the Perfect may take the accent on the ultima, not only after vau conversive, but also in other cases.

3. The masculine plural Imperfect of verbs ayin vau and ayin yodh in the Kal and Hiphil forms may have the tone on the ultima even without appended nun; e.g. יבינו in Psalm 28. 5 is pronounced in two syllables, *j'binú*.

4. The imperfect singular feminine Kal of verbs ayin vau, ayin yodh, and ayin doubled is oxytone. Isa. 23. 16 סבִי *sobí*.

5. But also the imperfect plural masculine Kal of the same classes of verbs may have the tone on the ultima. The same is true of the third person plural and third singular feminine perfect Kal of verbs ayin doubled, even when no vau conversive precedes.

Rules for appending syllables.

1. The *he* of the Hiphil form is often retained in the Imperfect and Participle; e.g. Ps. 1. 3 יצִלֶה is pronounced

jehátslich; Ps. 14. 2 מִשְׁכִּיל *meháskil*. Less often the *he* of the article is retained after prepositions.

2. At the end of the construct singular the vowel *i* is appended; at the end of the construct plural feminine the vowel *e*; as Ps. 4. 7 אֹרִי *ori*; Ps. 12. 7 אִמְרוּתָּה *imrothe*.

3. The full forms *ahu* or *ehu* are put in place of the suffix-forms *o* and *av*; also *emo* may be read for *em*, or *em* for *emo*. Similarly we are often to read *minni*, *l'mo*, *b'mo* for *min*, *l'*, *b'*. Examples: Ps. 21. 10 יְבַלְעֵם *j'vállé'emo*. Ps. 12. 8 מִן *minni*.

4. The vowel *i* is resolved into its original *ij*, as Ps. 17. 7 בִּימִינִךָ *bijéminékha*.

5. In a similar manner the contracted forms *v'Elohim*, *b'Elohim*, *v'Adonai*, &c., are put in place of the original forms *ve-Elohim*, *be-Elohim*, *va-Adonai*, &c. By suppression of the initial vowel these forms may be contracted still further to *v'-lohim*, &c.

6. The article may be inserted where it does not stand in the Massoretic text, e.g. Ps. 4. 7 אִמְרִים is to be read *ha-'óm 'rim*.

7. *Ani* and *anokhi* are often mutually exchanged, e.g. Ps. 73. 23 וָאֲנִי *v'anókhi*. So, too, *lebh* and *lebhahh*, e.g. Ps. 13. 6 לְבִי *lebhábhi*. Very often the same exchange occurs between *Jahve* and *Jah*.

Rules for neglecting or rejecting syllables.

A few such rules appear under the previous head in (3), (5), and (7). In addition:

1. Vowels that have been inserted on account of the accent following in the next syllable may be resolved again into the half vowel, as—

(a) With the proclitic particles *b'*, *l'*, *k'*, *v'*, e.g. Ps. 1. 2 וְלִילָהּ *v'lájla*¹. This never takes place before suffixes.

¹ Döller's *v'laja* is an obvious error.

(b) Similarly, the vowel *a* of the Imperfect forms before suffixes, e.g. Ps. 18. 43 וַאֲשַׁחֲקֵם *v'es'h'qém*. Especially before affirmatives, e.g. Ps. 14. 4 קראו *qar'ú*.

2. In like manner the vowel reduces to a helping vowel (and is then elided) in the plural forms *panim*, *damim*, *jamim*, and in the dual *jadhajim*, especially if suffixes follow, e.g. פָּנִים *p'ním*, פָּנֶיךָ *p'néka*; so too the preposition *עַל* if joined with a suffix, *עָלַי* *'laj*.

3. The vowel *a* of the stem syllable, followed by a syllable of inflection, gives place to a half vowel if an immutable stem syllable precedes, כּוֹכְבִּים *kokh'bhim*.

4. Pausal forms are not permitted in the midst of the stichoi, and are to be discarded if they appear in the Massoretic pointing; on the contrary, at the end of the stichoi they are to be supplied (as a rule) when the Massoretes have omitted them.

5. The initial vowel of a word may be suppressed after א if not more than two consonants precede the next full vowel, e.g. Ps. 4. 5 אָמְרוּ *m'ru*. But the only monosyllables that can lose their vowel are אֵת (sign of accusative), אֵל, אֶל, אִם, אֲזוּ, אֵף; thus in Ps. 2. 5 אֲזוּ יִרְבֶּר is read in two syllables -*z j'dhábber*; and in verse 3 אֶת־מוֹסְרוֹתֵימוֹ has four syllables -*th mós 'rothémo*.

6. The proclitic particles *va*, *min*, *shě* may dispense with the doubling of a following consonant, and exchange their full vowel for a half vowel; not, however (except *shě*), before suffixes or the article.

7. Final *i*, as sign of the first person, may fall away unless in a monosyllable or preceded by a half vowel, e.g. Ps. 2. 5 נִסְכַּחְתִּי *násakht-*.

8. All suffixes (not simply those of the third person plural) may be annexed directly to the feminine plural, e.g. Ps. 55. חוֹמוֹתֶיהָ *homótha*.

9. The *i* sound characteristic of the Hiphil is rejected, e.g.
Ps. 2. 10 השבילו *hásk'lu*.

10. The copula ו does not always become *u* before *b*, *f*, and *m*.

The student who is familiar with Syriac will recognize the source of many (by no means all) of these rules and exceptions. It is alleged by his opponents that Bickell makes countless other exceptions in a purely arbitrary fashion. An elementary treatise like the present is hardly the place to go into that matter in detail. It is more to the purpose to give a few specimens of the results attained. Here it will be necessary to reproduce Bickell's transliterations pretty closely; the Hebrew text does not sufficiently suggest the peculiar forms adopted. The examples are to be found in the *Carmina*, except those from the Book of Lamentations, which the *Carmina* printed in dodecasyllables. Bickell subsequently came halfway to Budde's view of these *ḵinâ* passages, and urged the latter to meet him by recognizing the syllabic relation of 7 + 5 throughout these pieces. His contention (in the *Wiener Zeitschrift* for 1894) is that much less violence is done thus to the text than Budde had found necessary. The paper is well worth reading; I shall return to it.

Psalm 54. 7. 7 | 7. 7.

3 Jah, b'sím 'kha hóši 'éni,

V'big' búrat 'khá t'dinéni!

4 Elohim, s'má' t'fillati,

Ha'zina l'imere fi.

5 Ki zárim qámu 'alaj,

V'ariçim biq'su náfsi;

Lo sámu 'Lóhim l'négdam.

.

- 6 Hinné 'Lohím 'ozér li,
Adónaj b'sóm 'khe náfsi !
- 7 Jasúb hará' leśór raj.
Ba 'míttekhá haçmítem !
- 8 Bin'dába ézbechá llakh ;
Odá šim'khá, Jah, kí thob.
- 9 Ki mikkol çara hiçç 'lan-
Ub'ój' baj rá'ta 'eni.

Psalms 100. 7. 7 | 7. 7.

- 1 Harí'u l -Jáh, kol haarç ;
- 2 'Ib'dú et Jahvá b'símcha !
Bou l'fanáv bir'nána !
- 3 D'u, kí Jahvá hu' 'Lohim !

'Asánu, v'ló anáchnu,
'Ammó veçón mar'ito.

- 4 Bou š 'arav betóda,
Chaçerotav bit'hilla !

Hodú lo, bárekhu š'mo !
.
.
.
.
.

- 5 Ki thób Jah, l' 'ólam chásdo,
V' 'ad dór vadór munáto.

Psalm 80. 8. 8 | 8. 8 || 8. 8 | 8. 8.

(I give the first three verses only.)

- 2 Ro'e Jisraél, ha'zína,
 Noheg kéhaççon Jehósef!
 Jóseb hákk'rubím, hofi'a
- 3 Lif'ne -Frajm v'-Binjámin -M'nassä!
 'Órera et g'buratákha,
 Úl'kha lisu'ata llanu!
- 4 Jahva Çébaot, h'sibénu,
 V'haer p'nákha v'nívase'a!

Psalm 64. 7. 7 | 7. 7 || 7. 7 | 7. 7.

(Verses 6 and 7 only. Conjectural additions in italics.)

- 6 Jechazz'qu lám dabár ra',
 Jesapp'ru líthmon moq'sim.
 Am'ru: mi jir'ä lānu?
 Akhen Jah jir'ä lāmo!
- 7 Jachp'sú 'olót, joméru:
 Tammonu chéfes m'chúppas!
 Veqāreb 'is' *en cheqer,*
 Velibbi 'adam 'āmoq.

Canticles 4. 4. 4. 6.

(Verses 12-14, † denotes emended words. The letters under 14 indicate transposed clauses.)

12 Gán na'úl att,
'Chóti khállá,
Gál na'úl, †'ajñ †ch'túma!

13 Šélachajikh
Párdes †rimmon
'Ím perí megádím.

14 K'fárim, †v'rádim,
a Nérd vekhářkom,
c 'Ím kol ' 'čé lebóna.

b Qánä v'qínn'mon,
d Mór va'halot,
e 'Ím kol rášē b'sámim.

Lam. 3. 7. 5 | 7. 5 | 7. 5.

(Verses 1 to 6.)

1 'Ni hágg'bar, ráa 'óni,
Besébt 'ebrátó;

2 Oti nahág vajjólakh-
Lechósekh v'lo 'or;

3 'Akh bí jašúb, jeháfekh,
Jadó kol hájjom.

- 4 Billá b'sarí ve'óri,
 Šibbar ač'mótaj.
- 5 Baná 'aláj vajjaqqaf;
 Roši, utlao.
- 6 B'machsákkim hósibáni,
 Keméte 'ólam.

Lam. 4. 7. 5 | 7. 5.

(Verses 20 to 22.)

- 20 Ruch -ppenu, m'sích Jah, nílkad,
 Biš 'chítotámo,
 Ašér 'amárnu b'čillo:
 Nichjá baggójim.
- 21 Šiši vešim'chi, bat- Dom,
 Josábt baareç !
 Gam 'alajk tá'bor kós Jah;
 Tisk'ri v'tit 'ari.
- 22 Tam 'avonékh, bat Çijjon,
 Lo 'lehaglótekh;
 Paqád 'avonekh, bat 'Dom,
 'Al chaṭṭotájikh.

The question that comes now before us is, as always:
What are the truths in this whole system which connect it
with those that preceded, and form a positive addition to the

sum of knowledge on the subject? Having ascertained the agreements, the divergences can be passed upon more intelligently.

At the beginning of this chapter the main points of agreement had been three. (1) Hebrew verse is not measured by quantity. Bickell accepts this without reservation; it is his point 2, as above. (2) As the result of combining the opinions of Bickell's predecessors the prevailing foot of Hebrew metre was asserted to be the iambus or anapaest; less often the trochee or dactyl. Bickell gives equal place to *both* iambus and trochee; this is a difference of degree rather than of kind. How far from vital it is appears from Bickell's *volle-face* respecting the Book of Lamentations, as we shall presently see. (3) The formal principle of rhythm was found in the stress of the tones, not in the number of the syllables.

It is very commonly supposed that Bickell counts syllables and not tones, but this is an utter mistake; he counts both, and the entire melody of his rhythm is derived from the sequence of tones, not syllables; whether consciously or otherwise, the only advantage he secures by making the syllables regular is to make the tones more regular. Now he is right against Ley and Budde so far as this, that poetry cannot be measured by simply counting the rises and disregarding the falls. Every one who knows poetry well enough to recognize it will assent to this after a little thought; in fact, one variety of English burlesque used to turn on the absurdity of the contrary opinion. I may perhaps be forgiven by my graver readers for the barest allusion to a piece that was current some forty or fifty years ago, and that began:

‘In Manchester a maiden lived.’

It is too long to quote, but I will venture to set down here a trimeter distich (!) which is much older:

Wá'sn't Pháraoh a rás'al?
 He wouldn't lét the children of Israel go three days'
 jóurney into the wilderness to eat the Páschal.

So far as this bears against the doctrine of Ley and Budde, it is only meant to show that they have been incautious in statement. Evidently they do not mean to say that *no* account is to be made of the thesis in a foot, but that the exact number of syllables passed over between the rises is immaterial, because the voice either hurries or lingers as the case may demand, the attention being fixed on the next arsis and not on the intervening syllables. But is it not true that metre is measure, i. e. definite measure? What is it, then, that is measured if not the number of syllables in a foot? The analogy of music gives the answer. It is not syllables or even accents. It is *time*; strictly speaking, the flow of time, its waves. Take a piece of dry prose like Euclid's *pons asinorum* (English version). Accent it according to any scheme you choose to adopt you cannot make rhythm or metre out of it. But rhythm in music is a regular recurrence, a pulse-beat that can be measured in terms of time. The composer hurries or lingers at will, writing two half-notes, or twelve sixteenth-notes and a quarter rest, but the inexorable law of time governs him; against its *bars* he dashes in vain. He may indeed change the time in the course of his composition, but if so he must indicate the change, and adhere to the new measure until he indicates another change. The poet is under the same law. In place of writing a symbol like $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$ at the beginning of his poem he so arranges the first lines that they show the rhythm he intends to follow. In Tennyson's 'Break—break—break' the three syllables of the first line are precisely equivalent to the nine syllables of the third line. Would Kuenen

have denied that the poem is metrical, though he so often identified metre with quantitative metre? or would Bickell undertake to cut line 3 to match line 1? That which is alike in both lines is the flow of time. This whole matter is expounded admirably in Lanier's *Science of English Verse*, chap. iii.

It is now plain that in all the books and systems of Hebrew metre which we have examined the one statement that gives the exact truth in this particular is the brief phrase already quoted from Meier's *Form der hebräischen Poesie*, p. 25: 'Any number of syllables that can be pronounced in the given duration of time.' The reason just alleged for calling Pharaoh a rascal does not miss being metrical because it has many more syllables than the question, but because it has *too* many to be properly uttered in the same space of time. Condensed as follows it might serve, even though having about twice as many syllables as the question:

For not letting Moses celebrate the Páschal.

Returning now to Bickell, he is to be commended, as well as Ley, for mellowing with the years and approaching the position of his opponents. When he prints the *Klagelieder* in alternate lines of seven and five syllables each, instead of in solid twelve-syllable lines, it looks at first like the same thing in two forms; and so it would be if this were all. But examination reveals the fact that he has reversed his measure; the trochees have become iambs. In the *Carmina* the first line of Lam. 3 ran thus:

'Ní haggäber, ráa 'ní bešé'bh 'ebráto.

This reminds us of Browning's 'One Word More,' being in the same rhythm, with one foot added:

'Rafael made a century of sonnets.'

But the new version of Lam. 3. 1, as before quoted from the *Wiener Zeitschrift*, reminds us of some of Paul Gerhard's hymns.

I make bold to claim that not even Ecker, the fierce antagonist of Bickell, who has 'counted the syllables' and found more than 6,000 textual alterations of the Psalter in Bickell's version, has damaged the system before us so seriously as has the author himself by means of this remarkable change of base. There are 242 lines in Lam. 1-4. In every line the metre has been radically altered, while yet all of Bickell's rhythmical principles have been retained, a clear indication that the permanent element in those principles consists not in the assignment of trochees and iambs, but in what the author holds in common with his predecessors. In Dr. Bickell's article on the book of Lamentations, to which reference has been made (*Kritische Bearbeitung der Klagelieder*), he gives great praise to Budde for 'establishing the *kind* metre with discretion and consistency,' adding: 'So far as I see he has found universal agreement in respect to this matter.' He distinctly gives up the 12-line verse not only in Lamentations but elsewhere, giving no hint, however, of the radical change in the *character* of his verses. 'My deviations from Budde,' he proceeds, 'are of a secondary nature. First, I apportion seven syllables to every long verse, five to every short verse, while he, as also Max Löhr, the latest commentator, counts instead of the syllables the (so unlike) words, and in case the second part of the verse has an equal or a greater number of words than the first he is led to needless alterations of the text. Besides, he adopts the arbitrary rule that the shorter verse cannot be comprised in a single word. Further, I consider both members not as segments of a long verse, but as independent, mutually parallel stichoi, although the second because of its brevity may often resume only a part of the first; a fact indeed

which also occurs in parallel verses of an equal number of syllables.'

To be sure these matters are secondary, but the charge of altering the text comes with very ill grace from one who has done the same thing in so many thousands of cases. His late sensitiveness to the purity of the text is an encouraging sign.

As to the primary matter, it is certainly noteworthy that Bickell's tests so often come out at the same result with those of his opponents. The first examples that I have copied above in his transliterated forms are perfectly regular, and are among the very psalms which went so smoothly in our inductive chapter. Psalm 64 gave us trouble, especially in vv. 6, 7; but Bickell, who always carries his system through at whatever cost, secures the needed uniformity by means of eight conjectural changes in those two verses. Psalm 71 is simplified more easily by making ver. 21 telescope into ver. 20, and Psalm 79 by dropping vv. 5 c to 7 as inserted from Jer. 10. 25.

This last point is well taken, and is one of many wherein even hostile critics have recognized the value of Bickell's researches for the restoration of the original text.

In regard to his syllabic theory in general, three things are to be said.

(1) The chief argument he adduces in support of it, namely, the analogy of the Syriac language, proves too much for his purpose. A late branch of the Aramaic, developing in comparatively modern times, and under the varied influences of the Roman empire and the Christian Church, cannot give the law for the ancient Hebrew, nor confine the living spirit of that freer tongue within its own uniform moulds. Professor Briggs has put this in a nutshell, in a passage directly succeeding the commendation quoted before (*Biblical Study*, p. 259): 'Dr. Bickell's theory must

be rejected on the ground that it does away with the difference between the Hebrew and the Aramaic families of the Shemitic languages; and would virtually reduce the Hebrew to a mere dialect of the Aramaic.'

(2) The text is adapted to the system, not the system to the text. As was just now seen in the case of the Lamentations, Bickell does not read for the sense and draw out his theory inductively; he has a number of set forms, and the text is like wax, to be shaped into one or another. No doubt a certain ingenuity is displayed in discovering by inspection the leading trend of syllables in a poem, but then great violence is applied in curtailing or inserting others to fit the measure. Kuenen criticizes this well (*Einleitung*, vol. iii, pp. 21, 24): 'Manifestly, a complete change in the vocalization and accentuation must go hand in hand with this system. That is just what has been effected by Bickell, who besides goes to work with great freedom in elisions and in the counting in or out of syllables. . . . The altered vocalization of the text, with which the metric of Bickell and Gietmann stands and falls, would have to be independent of this metric in order to serve as its foundation. But this is by no means the case. The rules for elision, &c., which serve as a complement to the vocalization, are a part of the scheme which Bickell has contrived for the sake of the metric itself, and has repeatedly modified in detail for the same end. As a whole it is improbable; in many points, plainly, it is most arbitrary.'

(3) By their fruits ye shall know them. If everything were granted to the system, it must be acknowledged that it results in a very inferior sort of poetry, which smacks rather of the midnight oil than of the free air of Palestine. Who can believe that a poet ever recited Ps. 80. 3 after this fashion?

Lífne -Frajm v'Binjámin -M nássä!

or that the author of 'Old Hundred' was guilty of a line that would sound like this in English?

Know *that* Jahve is *Divine*!

or that the bride in Canticles warbled thus to her beloved (4. 16)?

Jízz 'lu b'sámav;

Jábo' dód- l'gann-

V'jókhal p'rí megádav!

To touch upon a single point, the last word is one of a multitude in which a full vowel has replaced sh'va. It would matter little if the word were pronounced megadháv. But the first syllable has a secondary tone, and this is just as long as the previous tone: p'rí mē, which gives a drawling effect, that recurs throughout these transliterated texts.

With regard to Bickell's system as a whole, we should discard entirely the syllabic feature, restore the lines to their usual length, and accent them after the manner of Beller-mann, Meier, and Ley. A valuable by-product will then remain, in a goodly number of text-critical suggestions, and happy restorations of presumably primitive forms.

The successful Metriker, if he ever appears, will patiently go through the entire mass of these emendations, selecting such only as approve themselves on rational grounds—and being fully persuaded that they have no more genetic connexion with the syllabic theory than Tenterden steeple with Goodwin Sands.

CHAPTER VI

MÜLLER AND THE STROPHE

No doubt it would be a more logical procedure to continue the analysis of purely metrical and rhythmical theories until the limit is reached in the twentieth century ; but it seems better on the whole to take up at this point the deferred subject of strophes. The chronological succession has brought us to their chief exponent at the present day, Professor David H. Müller, of Vienna, whose results however were prepared for by a series of predecessors. So the title of this chapter would be more accurate if its terms were reversed.

While Bellermann is the father of modern theories of verse-measure, the epochal work on the strophe and its structure was published in 1831 by Dr. Friedrich Köster, Professor in the University of Kiel. It fills pp. 40-114 of the *Studien und Kritiken* for that year. Its leading thesis is that the same relation which parallelism bears to the members of the verse is borne by the strophe to the verses themselves. The strophe he defines in general as any union of several verses according to definite laws. The analogy to parallelism he draws out in particular (p. 48). The resemblance between verses, like that between their members, may be merely verbal, as in the alphabetical poems ; oftener it concerns the thought. Parallel verses, as well as members, may occur in combination with those not parallel. Further, the succession of parts may be direct or in certain cross relations ; it is not common to find more than from two to four

parts uniting to form the whole ; on the other hand the parts may be subdivided. 'But lastly, strophes, like verses, seek to avoid all uniformity both in the measure of their length and in the number of their verses ; and in this freedom by the side of regularity lies not only the beauty but even the character of their structure. Freedom in the midst of order was indispensable in the poetic symmetry of the Hebrews, on account of the poverty of their language and the noble simplicity of their ideas ; it is only a language very rich in vocabulary and poetic thoughts which can bind itself closely to symmetrical forms without becoming tedious. Consequently this is the point at which we must especially refrain from systematically applying the measuring-rod of our present-day poetry to the biblical writers.'

Elsewhere he gives a similar warning against demanding from Hebrew strophes the regularity of classical composition. We must keep in mind these admissions, even though Köster seems to ignore them in his general summary.

I have thus far said nothing about the propriety of assuming that parallelism of members is the underlying characteristic of Hebrew poetry. The century and a half of discussion since Lowth's great essay has modified his conclusions somewhat. Parallelism is found to be too narrow a conception to fit the facts. By no just use of the term can it be stretched so as to cover all Hebrew poetry. Lowth got over the difficulty by making the subdivision which he called 'synthetic' parallelism so elastic that all poetry not synonymous or antithetic could be embraced under it¹. But as has often been shown, this

¹ (*Praelectiones*, p. 221): 'Tertia species est parallelorum, cum sententiae invicem respondent, non eiusdem rei iteratione, aut oppositione diversarum, sed sola constructionis forma ; in quam itaque referri possunt caetera, quae in duas priores species non cadunt ; parallela synthetica libet appellare.'

surrenders the parallelism in a multitude of cases. I do not know that the suggestion has been made before, but it seems to me at least possible that the confusion arose unconsciously from the geometrical conception of parallel lines. When any two lines are rhythmical, and together make complete sense, if the second is placed under the first, a parallelism of members is supposed to result, as in Ps. 2. 6 (one of Lowth's examples):

Yet have I set my King

Upon Zion, the mount of my holiness.

We may be ready to grant to Köster that strophes can be found almost anywhere in Hebrew poetry by combining verses that are *parallel* in the same sense as such members.

He himself, as already shown, is far from claiming a fully regular structure for the strophe system. Later in the essay (p. 71) he observes that the strophic symmetry of Exodus 15 varies 'so as not to become too painstaking.' Again on Job 3 (p. 78): 'Such a sufferer could not complain in methodical strophes,' and once more on Zech. 9 (p. 108): 'Contents, language and form of this oracle have something wavering or jerky; and upon this especially rests its obscurity. Accordingly, the strophe formation is not quite correct.' But he pays too little heed to such limitations in his concluding remarks, where he claims to have shown 'that by the side of the parallelism of verse-members there is found also a parallelism of verses; that the one necessarily goes with the other; that consequently all Hebrew poetry is more or less of a strophic nature.' The qualifying phrase 'more or less' is the saving salt here.

What now exactly *is* a strophe? The definition already cited from Köster does not define: 'any union of several verses according to definite laws.' What laws? The first criterion which Köster finds is the refrain (p. 52 f.). It indicates either the beginning or the end of the strophe;

One recognizes at the first glance, for instance, the three equal divisions of Micah 3 by the opening words in vv. 1, 5, 9. In the same way it is proved that Psalms 42 and 43 form a single whole by the repeated burden, Pss. 42. 5, 12; 43. 5. Another clear case is Isa. 9. 7—10. 4, where the breaks occur at 9. 11, 16, 20; 10. 4, and thus according to the verse-scheme 5, 5, 4, 4. But poems with refrains are very few, and occasionally they are misleading, since the phrase that is repeated may come in the midst of a strophe, as in Psalms 56, 59. Accordingly the reliable means for discovering strophic symmetry lies in the divisions of the sense. On looking carefully at almost any piece, one or more portions naturally separate themselves from the rest. Using such a portion as a measure, the whole poem will often be found to consist of several equal or nearly equal parts, each forming a lesser whole. Look, for instance, at Psalm 2; the last three verses are an address to the kings. Three goes in twelve four times, and there are, as a matter of fact, four regular strophes, of three Massoretic verses each.

Turn to the oracle on Tyre in Isa. 23; the opening refrain is repeated in ver. 14, which thus marks the end of a strophe. Using the remaining verses, 15—18, as a measure, we gain four equal strophes, of four verses each, viz. 2—5, 6—9, 10—13, 15—18 (note the similar beginning of vv. 6, 10).

Where the matter is not so plain, other indications should be looked for; as, the apparent turning-point of the whole, the synthesis or antithesis of the thoughts, the change of persons, or even repeated catch-words, like *hark! see! wo! when, because, thus saith Jahve, in that day, &c.* See Isa. 1, 5, Psalm 68, &c. It need not disturb us that some strophes are more sharply separated by the unity of their contents than are others.

Köster has thus given a working description, if not a precise definition, of the strophe. The bulk of the article,

pp. 55-108, is devoted to illustrative passages given in a German translation, each one being followed by a brief comment. These examples are drawn from the Psalms, the historical books, the book of Job, and the prophets. They are selected with care and the divisions are natural; the Massoretic text, with scarcely any changes, forms the basis of the translations given. It may be said of the passages as a whole, and of most of them separately, that they carry conviction so far as this: the text breaks up easily into these sections, which are often of equal extent,—and where it is otherwise, as in Psalms 110, 45, 90, Judges 5, the author has a good reason to assign. If such a sectional paragraph is all that is meant by a strophe, Köster has proved his case as far as he has gone; though he takes a great leap into the unknown when he reasons from these few data to the whole of Hebrew poetry. The examples which he analyses, in the order in which he presents them, are these: Pss. 2, 139, 110, 46, 45, 27, 90, 124; Exod. 15; Judges 5; Job 3, 4; Mic. 4; Hab. 1, 2, 3; Isa. 5. 1-7, 11, 21. 1-10, 47, 52. 13-53. 12; Jer. 9. 1-12; Zech. 9.

What Köster has shown, as is universally conceded, is that each of these passages falls apart into subdivisions of nearly the same length. The internal harmony of the parts is usually, but not always, plain; at times one of these sections might be personified as saying: If I be a strophe, where is my *stropho*?

The next author to be examined is Ewald, who carries the matter a little further. Returning to his *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, I give an abstract of pp. 138 ff.

Nothing would be so perverse as to fail to recognize, by reason of self-conceived presuppositions, the extraordinary mobility and plasticity of Hebrew poetry. In any composition, one must be well on his guard against forcing through a division into strophes. But where it lies visible in the very sense and life of a song, we must not overlook it, for indeed

the whole song loses its clarity so long as one does not see into its articulation and development. To be sure, these strophe divisions are not marked in the common text; *selah* cannot be the chief or only sign of the end of a strophe. The refrain doubtless is such a mark, but we must by no means confine strophes to those so indicated.

It is difficult, in short, to recognize these divisions; one must have a keen appreciation of every turn of the thought in the author's mind; no general principle will solve the case, for each new song is a problem in itself. Still, with these inner signs, there often concur outer marks of the strophe division, like the repeated call *Jahve!* Ps. 31. 2, 10, 15; or even a whole verse alike at the beginning or the end of each strophe. Similarly the 'Bless Jahve!' at Judges 5. 2 (followed by the actual blessing in verse 3, and the animated passage, vv. 4 ff.) is resumed in verse 9; 10 f. being parallel to 3, and 11 ff. to 4 ff. Practice soon enables one to recognize the genuine marks of a true Hebrew strophe.

(1) *The Song-Turn (Strophe) in itself.*

(I am still condensing Ewald's book.) An example of a two-line strophe is 2 Sam. 3. 33 f., where the second line is expanded into three members. Another and a favourite kind developed two lines into five members, see the succession in Psalm 29. A series of three lines appears in Gen. 4. 23 f., 9. 25-7. In Ps. 2. 4-6 seven members alternate with six; cf. vv. 7 ff. In David's last words, 2 Sam. 23. 1-7, four introductory lines of unusual length, befitting the unusual occasion, lead up to three strophes of evenly balanced long lines. The three are distinctly marked and yet bound together—a fine example of a true strophe.

Strophes of from five to six lines each are relatively long, so that true strophes seldom exceed that length; if they do, the oratorical prevails over the musical element; Isaiah and

his fellow prophets commonly form strophes of seven or eight lines. Even in the Job speeches the strophes do not exceed ten lines each save in the incomparable fullness of Jahve's address, where they reach twelve lines. An exception is when the song-piece is part of a larger whole, as in the thirteen strophes of the Song of Songs.

(2) *Strophes in their composition.*

The one thought of the poet does not exhaust itself at the first outpouring; after each flow of expression comes a pause of repose. Both from the variety of poetic emotion, and from the extent of time covered by Hebrew poetry, we must expect the strophe to develop itself in its relations very variously.

(a) An apparently unequal structure of the strophes in a song is possible. Emotion, though not entirely unregulated, cannot be confined within equal bars and lines; there are times when it demands an unrestricted outburst. But over all this must hover a comprehending unity.

The best examples are the laments, especially David's over Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. 1. 19-27 (swelling to six long verses, sinking to two short ones). In Job, too, we have in chapter 3 two long strophes followed by one short one; in 13. 23-14. 20, three long strophes followed by two shorter, which cannot be accidental(!). The song of joy or praise takes just the reverse course; first brief, then fuller, see Psalms 30 and 45.

(b) But by far the greater number of songs are composed of equal strophes. (1) Songs in two strophes, which may have two verses each, as Ps. 28. 6-9; or three verses each, Pss. 31. 20-25; 1; 23; or four, Ps. 101; Job 11. 13-20. Occasionally we find longer strophes; Psalm 91 has two of eight verses each; Job 27. 14-23 has two of five verses each.

(2) Oftenest the song has three equal divisions, compare the Greek strophe, antistrophe, and epode. Thus Pss. 7; 31. 2-19 (six lines each); 22; 35 (nine to ten lines each).

(3) Sometimes there are four equal strophes, as Pss. 2; 12; 1 Sam. 2. 1-10; Isa. 38. 10-20.

(3) *Antiphonal songs.*

Examples: Exod. 15; Judges 5.

These are very fully treated, but are not essential to our present purpose, as they give no additional light upon strophic formation.

It is noticeable that Ewald recognizes as 'genuine' or 'true' strophes such as those in 2 Sam. 23. 2-7, which are 'distinctly marked, and yet bound together.' Also, while claiming that practice soon enables one to recognize the true strophe, he admits that this is very difficult, and that it demands a keen appreciation of every turn of thought in the author's mind. Well may his humble followers ask, 'Who is sufficient for these things?'

Next in chronological order comes Sommer, whose *Biblische Abhandlungen*, published at Bonn in 1846, treat at large of the strophe; see the essay entitled 'Die alphabetischen Lieder von Seiten ihrer Structur und Integrität.' He classifies the strophes, with respect to the number of verses contained in each, into distichs, hexastichs, heptastichs, and octastichs. One of the common objections to regarding an alphabetical couplet or triplet as a strophe is that in Psalms 111, 112, the alphabetizing is carried down to the single stichos instead of stopping with the line. This objection Sommer meets by presenting and defending the view that it is the stichos, not the verse, which is the metrical unit by whose combinations strophes are formed.

This thesis has been earnestly opposed, for example, by

Ley, Budde, Kuenen, and Schlögl, who hold that the verse, not the stichos, should be taken as the basis of the strophe. On the other hand, Sommer's theory is supported by Meier, Merx, Bickell, Delitzsch, and Müller. The case against it is thus stated by Kuenen (*Einleitung*, vol. iii, p. 52) whom Schlögl simply copies and condenses:

'That the verse is the unit seems to be prescribed by the nature of the case; the single stichos is *nil*; it waits, so to speak, for its complement, which is contained in the verse-lines that follow; only when the thesis has answered to the arsis does the voice of the speaker or singer arrive at a rest-point, from which it may take up the song anew. All this is overlooked and left out of consideration by Sommer.'

But perhaps not; for it may be fairly replied that while the stichos cannot form a logical basis, it may and does form a metrical basis. Just *because* it expects its complement, the stichos is to be multiplied, and as the poet's thought is often not fully expressed in the single verse, the multiplication goes on until the point of rest is reached at the close of the strophe. In our own language—in any modern language—no one would think of taking a distich or a quatrain as a *metrical* unit, alleging that a single stichos gives an incomplete thought. I hold, then, that Sommer has made an important contribution to the theory of the strophe.

Ernst Meier takes this subject up, and contributes to its development, on pp. 30-49 of his *Form der hebräischen Poesie*. He mingles with it a ridiculous theory about the derivation of the psalm-titles, which deserves no more notice than Hengstenberg's notion that strophes are built on the sacred numbers, and which has made this book of Meier's a target for later writers, to an extent that has drawn off attention from the real merits of his system, which in fact may be regarded as the germ of Müller's. According to

Meier, the shortest strophes occupy four of his brief lines (which Schlögl calls commas), and the longest only twelve. Examples of the former are the two prayers in Num. 10. 35 f., uttered whenever the ark led forth the camp of Israel, and whenever it came to the halting-place.

Qúma, Jahve,	└ ┘ └ ┘
veyafúzu ojebe`ka	┘ ┘ └ ┘ ┘ ┘ └ ┘
veyanúsu mesanèka	┘ ┘ └ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ └ ┘
míppanèka !	└ ┘ └ ┘
Schúba, Jahve,	└ ┘ └ ┘
ríbabot	└ ┘ └
álfe	└ └
Jísraël !	└ ┘ └

An example in twelve-line strophes is Job 3, of which I give the first strophe.

┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘	
: יאבד יום אוֹלַד בּוֹ וְהַלִּילָה אָמַר הָרָה גִּבֹּר :	3
┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘	
הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוּא יְהִי חֹשֶׁךְ אֶל יִדְרָשׁוּ אֱלֹהֵי מִמְעַל וְאֶל תּוֹפֵעַ	4
עָלָיו נִהְרָה :	
┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘ ┘	
יִנְאַלְהוּ חֹשֶׁךְ וְצַלְמוֹת :	5

Meier reckons in all seven kinds of strophes, those namely with 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 12 lines. His division and scansion of Psalm 114, in eight-line strophes, I gave in chapter iii. Careful attention is solicited to the general remarks which here follow (pp. 40-2).

‘Finally, it is still to be noticed as characteristic of the

Hebrew strophe-structure, that a song only seldom consists of but a single strophe ;—as in short speeches, in folk-songs, and in manifest fragments. . . . The governing law in all larger complete songs requires rather that two strophes always come nearer together, and correspond as theme and counter-strophe. Thus, what we met before as the so-called parallelism of members, appears again in fuller extent and completion in the strophe-structure. Only this law of part and counterpart is never carried through in absolute stiffness; it appears in each case definite or indefinite according to the greater or less power and skill of the poet.

‘To these two mutually corresponding strophes there is often added a *conclusion-strophe*, embracing a comprehensive thought to end with. We should have here in general the logical law of a thought-development, which completes itself in theme, counter-theme, and end-theme. But in particular, the basis of this strophe-division lies perhaps in the nature of the ancient choruses, with which however that logical thought-development may be regarded in general as co-operating. The first semi-chorus sang, let us say, the fore-strophe, the second, standing opposite, sang the counter-strophe, which contained moreover a counter-theme, an antithetic thought. Finally, both united choruses sang the conclusion-strophe, reminding one of the dances of children in circles, wherein we may still discern a weak imitation of those ancient choral processions.’

In the examples which Meier then adduces, the second Psalm gives a twelve-line fore-strophe and counter-strophe, twice repeated, but with no conclusion-strophe; Psalm 137 gives all three; each has one twelve-line strophe. The double Psalm 42-43 is in ten-line strophes, of the three varieties, each twice repeated. The same is true of the prayer of Habakkuk, save that these are twelve-line strophes; I give the second counter-strophe.

Habakkuk 3. 9 c-11.

2 b.

neharót tebaqqà
 árez : raúka
 jachílu harím,
 serem májim abàr
 natan tehóm qolò
 rom jadihu nasà.
 schémesch, jaréach
 amád sebula
 leór chizzèka
 jehalleku
 lenógah beraq
 chaníteka.

Ley and Bickell, while treating extensively of the strophe, add little to the theory of its development. The same is true of Merx (*Commentary on Job*, Jena, 1871, pp. lxxxiv ff.), and Delitzsch (*Commentary on the Psalms*, Introduction, chap. vi). The latter has some excellent remarks on the nature of the strophe, from which I borrow a sentence or two. 'Strophes are recurring sections, consisting of a measured and indeed symmetrical number of lines. At the same time, the movement of the thought in parallel lines is not interfered with. The peculiarity of the Hebrew strophe does not consist in a flow of definite metres combined into one harmonic whole, but in a relatively complete train of thought being developed in accordance with the distichic and tristichic ground-form of the rhythmic period.'

Ley gives five marks for recognizing the strophe (*Leitfaden*, p. 17):

(a) By the sense: since a definite course of thought is carried out, and completed in a definite number of verses.

(b) By the refrains, which in several psalms enter after equal sections. (As his list is so much fuller than Köster's, I give it entire.) Pss. 39, 42-3, 46, 49, 56, 57, 59, 62, 67, 78, 80, 99, 107, 144.

(c) By the end-word *Selah*, which in most passages stands at the conclusion of the strophe; in several psalms, as the LXX shows us, it stands in the wrong place. (I do not give these two lists, for we cannot now build on this view of *Selah*.)

(d) By the catalexis, which at the end of the first strophe may always be considered as giving a measure for the whole poem. The catalexis consists in the shortening of the final verse by one beat, less often by a verse-section. A similar end is served by the hypercatalexis, which consists in the lengthening of the final verse by one beat, less often by a verse-section; as e. g. in Pss. 33. 5; 34. 11; 125. 2, &c.

(e) By the middle verse, and the middle strophe. Through the insertion of a significant intercalary verse just in the middle of the poem, or through an especial indication of the particular strophe that stands in the middle of the poem, the strophe-division becomes recognizable, since from this middle-point as a centre, the division can be carried on equally both forwards and backwards; as e. g. in Pss. 11, 24, 48, 60, 67, &c.

Before passing to Müller's books, it is right to call attention to an important series of articles by Professor Charles A. Briggs, of Union Theological Seminary, New York, which were published in *Hebraica* (Chicago, 1886-8). They expound in very readable and consecutive fashion the author's conception of Hebrew poetry, especially in its strophical relations; beginning with the trimeter, and proceeding through the tetrameter and pentameter to the hexameter.

Professor Briggs is in closer accord with Professor Ley than with any other of the Germans, but in some points he anticipates the work of Professor Müller. With these articles should be coupled another, which is in entire sympathy with Professor Briggs's view-point—that of his fellow Professor, Francis Brown: 'The measurements of Hebrew poetry as an aid to literary analysis' (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. ix, 1890, pp. 71-106).

Both Briggs and Brown have an advantage over some other Metriker in a certain native shrewdness and dexterous tact, which gives them insight into the delicate business of separating the probable out of the maze of the doubtful. Some of Professor Briggs's most satisfactory work is on the (so-called) pentameters of the Pilgrim Psalms, and on Isa. 47 (*Hebraica*, vol. iv, pp. 132-9). Professor Brown's article makes a good number of important suggestions on the book of Micah, and on Isa. 1-12. It closes in words which are prophetic of the trend of criticism in the last dozen years:

'All these considerations are new reasons why the literary activity of the Hebrews in and after the Exile should receive constant and unwearied study, until the scope of editorial work is better understood; and, to hint at an immense subject in a single line, the relation of editors to copyists, and of literary criticism to textual criticism, is more fully grasped.'

In 1896, Professor Müller published at Vienna in two large volumes, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*. Two years later, he sent out a much smaller book which is perhaps of equal importance to his system, *Strophenbau und Responsion*. The value of this system can hardly be exaggerated if we are to adopt the estimate of the author himself, who gives it to the world with the calm consciousness (*Propheten*, i. 252) 'that the laws therein laid down flow from the nature of things, and disclose new truths that had

remained concealed through thousands of years.' This is as interesting from the standpoint of psychology as of philology, and the same is true of the personal communications in the Introduction. It is really impossible to judge the system fairly without noting these peculiarities; the author says the same thing in so many words (p. 2): 'I hold it to be suitable, and in fact necessary for understanding the whole investigation, to point out here in brief how I arrived at the knowledge of this truth.' So we must review with him the critical day 'in mid-November of last year,' when for the first time strophic structure in connexion with Responsion burst upon his sight; and the 'sleepless night in December,' when it occurred to him that the cuneiform literature had a like poetical form; and the memorable Ides of February, when he was explaining to his class the fifty-sixth Sura of the Koran, and 'as I came to verses 59-72 (strophic structure $1 + 5 + 4 + 3 + 2 + 1$) there fell from my eyes as it were scales.'

These revelations, so carefully dated like Mohammed's, lack after all (in Oriental fashion) the essential temporal element; from internal evidence the general reader would fix them in the year of grace 1895-6, but there is invincible external proof that they occurred in the previous year.

It is hard to be serious, not to say patient, with such pretensions; but we must be both, and challenge this system as well as the others, to show its importance and its freshness. As to the last matter, Professor Schlögl, in his prize essay, reminds us that Ewald, Meier, and Delitzsch have essentially the same strophical theory; and Professor Briggs, who has borne his part in the storm and stress of modern metrical controversy, has this to say in his General Introduction, 1899 (p. 399): 'There is nothing new in his (Müller's) theory but the terminology and some of the illustrations. I have taught all these to my classes for

years, and references to them will be found in my earlier writings.'

But if not quite fresh, the system may still be important. To determine this, we need to know just what 'Responsion' signifies. Professor Müller, however, in his Introduction, explicitly refuses to tell us, until we shall have gone through the whole book inductively. He excites our curiosity at the outset. 'In Semitic philology, where "Responsion," in connexion with strophic structure, whose crystallization-element it really forms, must be regarded as the expression of the spirit of poetry and oratory, it is itself neither recognized nor named. The phenomenon, so long unrecognized, must first be found, and for the old-Semitic Thing a foreign name must be borrowed. In Hebrew, indeed, we are wont to speak of the *parallelismus membrorum* in verse, but this expression, so often used and yet oftener misused, may be said to designate the *germ* of Responsion, and yet it does not enable us to conjecture in the remotest degree the great and far-reaching law of Responsion, which sways in quite peculiar fashion the productions of ancient literature.

'It is not my intention to give prematurely a precise characterization and definite conception of Responsion. I am a foe of abstract statements, and accordingly I shall bring into view and analyse the phenomenon only by means of examples from the three provinces of literature already announced. Only then—after it' (i.e. the phenomenon) 'shall have been observed in manifold ways, illuminated on all sides, and apprehended in its causes and operations—only then will the time have arrived to abstract and to determine the concept of Responsion in its peculiarity and multiformity.'

It was due to our author to present this extended extract, for the style cannot be separated from the man. Who, since Carlyle, has given us anything like it? But even as

Carlyle is forgiven on account of the substance of his thought, Dr. Müller must have the benefit of the doubt. We shall be perverse enough, however, to turn in feminine fashion to the last chapter of his first volume, in order to ascertain what Responsion is. And truly the material is so rich that it must be given still in the author's own words (pp. 190 ff.): 'We gain a deep insight into the creative quality of those men, from whom the divine word was spoken. We can follow precisely the course of thought of their oracles, and the inmost emotions of their hearts which come to expression in their works, and we can clothe these in determinate forms of poetry and art. Even the peculiarity of the several prophets and poets, their human individuality, establishes itself by precise, one might say algebraic, formulae.

'We are able now to abstract the nature of Responsion from these examples, so abundant and various, drawn from three ancient literatures, and to project an image of this phenomenon, which—so manifold, multiform, and Proteus-like—interpenetrates and inhabits the entire prophetic literature.'

(Skipping the biological illustration of a cell and its organism, we read next): 'The germ of this phenomenon is the *parallelismus membrorum*, which in Semitic, and quite especially in Hebrew, forms the living element in sentence and verse.' (Here he gives the usual divisions and illustrations, after Lowth, and then proceeds thus): 'Now, what the parallelism of members is in the verse, Responsion is in the strophe and in the oration. The strophe consists of a complex of verses, which combine into a larger unity; it contains a bundle of thoughts that represent one Thought, as a pencil of rays form together one Light. The neighbour or counter strophe represents a similar or antithetic Thought, which like the first is the sum or product of another bundle

of thoughts, which also corresponds to the first in some or all of its elements. The formal expression of these relations of two or more strophes to each other is Responsion.

‘When Responsion is carried through strictly, each line of the one strophe corresponds with the answering line of the second strophe, either word for word or thought for thought, either in parallel or antithetic structure. By the similarity of the majority of mutually corresponding lines, the difference in particular lines becomes so much the more sharply marked, and operates all the more powerfully and penetratingly.

‘Examples of this strict Responsion are furnished by Amos 1 and 2, 7 and 8; Jer. 1; Ezek. 14. 12–23, 21. 1–12.’

Parturiunt montes! this mystical Responsion turns out to be just the correspondence of strophes, either general (simple *Responsio*) or chain-like, binding one strophe to its predecessor (*Concatenatio*), or introverted, when the beginning and the end of a strophe are similar (*Inclusio*).

Abundant examples are found in the ‘three literatures’ of all these forms. But holding to the Hebrew alone, according to our programme, we may safely assert that no one has ever shown, or is ever likely to show, that this Responsion is a *regular* feature of Hebrew poetry. The average Hebraist will always be too stubborn to take a part for the whole. It requires all Professor Müller’s ingenuity, with an occasional alteration of the text, to sustain the examples he has gathered, and many of these are far from convincing. I should be tempted to take up and analyse his first specimen of *strict* responsion, Amos 1. 2—2. 5, had not König done this already in his *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* (p. 348 f.), and shown the unsatisfactory nature of some of the correspondences, and the trifling character of others, which constantly suggest the question *cui bono?* Still it was not these ‘strict’ responsions,

but those in Isa. 47 which first attracted the adhesion of Dr. Paul Ruben to Müller's theory, and led him to declare (in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xi, 1899, p. 431): 'I wish to impress strongly upon my readers the great amount of evidence which may be adduced in support of D. H. Müller's theory.'

Let us print the chapter, then, in parallel strophes, as Ruben presents it, including his few emendations (see next page), and compare this form of the text with that given by Müller (*Propheten*, vol. ii, pp. 16, 17). Müller's text has five strophes instead of six, and hence cannot be printed so as to show the responsions by parallel lines. His divisions fall at the end of vv. 3, 7, 10 a, 12, the strophic scheme being 8, 8, 7, 8, 8, while Ruben's is 7, 7, 6, 6, 5, 5. Either of these groups, as mere numbers, might be defended on the score of symmetry. It is clear at the outset that both cannot be right, and that a subjective element has entered already. But a second glance shows that Ruben's strophes are formed by *reading for the sense*, as strophes always should be, while each deviation of Müller's joins things that belong apart and parts things that belong together. How plain it is, for instance, that ver. 12 begins a new strophe! Let us see how Müller defends himself (*Propheten*, vol. i, p. 179, which comments on this same chapter): 'In regard to the division of the last three strophes—apart from the ideas in question—I have been led by the sharply-stamped art-forms. Strophe 3 is indicated as a unity by a kind of *inclusio*, formed by the word *secure* in lines 1 and 7.'

But why is it not as well, on his own principles, to make it a case of simple responsion between the opening lines of strophes 3 and 4? and how much better sense would be made by that division, which is Ruben's. The more one studies the grouping adopted by Müller, the more plainly it appears that the form stands indeed 'apart from the ideas'

ISAIAH 47.

- 1 רדי ושבי על עפר | בחולת בת בבל
שבי על ארץ אין כפי | בת כשדים
כי לא חוסיפי יקראו לך | גברת ממלכות
- 2 קחי רחים וטחני קמח | גלי צמתך
חשפי שבל גלי שוק | עברי נהרות
3 תגל ערוחק | גם תראה חרפתך
נקם אקח | ולא אפגע אדם.
- 8 ועתה שמעי זאת עדינה | היושבת לבטח
האמרה בלכבה | אני ואפסי עוד
לא אשב אלמנה | ולא אדע שכול
- 9 ותבאנה לך שתי אלה | רגע ביום אחד
שכול ואלמון | פתאם באו עליך
ברב כשפוך | בעצמת חברך מאד.
- 12 עמדי נא בחברך | וכרב כשפוך
באשר יענת מנעורך | אולי תוכלי הועיל
אולי תערצי¹³ | בלבאית | ברב עצתך
יעמדו נא ויושיעוך | חברי שמים
החיים בכוכבים מודיעים לחדשים | מאשר יבא עליך.
- 4 נאלנו יהוה צבאות שמו | קדוש ישראל
שבי דומם ובאי בחשך | בת כשדים
5 כי לא חוסיפי יקראו לך | גברת ממלכות
- 6 קצפתי על עמי חלתי נחלתי | ואחנם בידך
לא שמת להם רחמים | על זקן הכבדת עלך מאד
7 ותאמרי לעולם אהיה | גברת עוד
לא שמת אלה על לבך | לא זכרת אחרייתיה.
- 10 ותבטחי ברעתך | אמרת אין ראני
הכמתך ודעתך | היא שובבתך
ותאמרי בלבך | אני ואפסי עוד
- 11 ונא עליך רעה | לא תדעי שחרה
ותפל עליך הוה | לא תכלי כפרה
ותבא עליך פתאם | שאה לא תדעי.
- 14 הנה היו בקש | אש שרפתם
לא יצילו את נפשם | מיד להבה
אין נחלת לחמם | אור לשבת נגוד
15 כן היו לך סחרוך | באשר יענת מנעורך
איש לעברו תעו | אין מושיעוך.

and has been contrived, in some cases, for the very purpose of bringing corresponding words or thoughts into equivalent lines in the strophic scheme. Of course the count comes out wrong in Ruben's arrangement, and he is frank enough to say so (p. 438 f.): 'A glance at the text as I have printed it convinces us that there is also verbal *corresponsio*, but—exceptionally—the corresponding words do not always stand in the corresponding lines.'

But this is to fail at the *experimentum crucis*. What becomes of Müller's favourite argument against the emendations of Duhm and others, namely, that the author has protected the text by the art-form? And in this case the lines would go still more awry if ver. 4, recognized as an interpolation by most commentators, were expunged.

In the next volume of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (vol. xii, Jan., 1900, pp. 377-9), Müller refers to Ruben's essay, from which he admits having received many useful hints, instancing in particular Isa. 47. 'As a whole,' he proceeds, 'I adhere to my former division of the passage; but on various minor points I partly accept Dr. Ruben's suggestions, and partly propose some fresh ones, induced thereto by Dr. Ruben's remarks.'

The most important change is a reconstruction of the stanzas, making five strophes of seven lines each, instead of 8, 8, 7, 8, 8. The reduction from thirty-nine lines to thirty-five is effected partly by excisions from the text, partly by lengthening some lines. The first four strophes are now printed in parallel couplets, so that the responsions are visible to the eye. To this result everything is sacrificed, for it is still true that the strophes give infelicitous unions and separations. Thus Ruben properly begins a strophe with ver. 10: 'For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness,' &c., but Müller begins in the middle of this verse with 'thy wisdom,' before which he repeats 'thou hast trusted in,' thus securing

a new responsion. He closes the strophe with ver. 12, whereas, as remarked above, the sense requires it to stand at the head of a new division. It is evident, as before, that the text is manipulated in the interest of the theory. One is reminded of Ignatius Donnelly's great cryptogram, proving the identity of Bacon and Shakespeare.

The net result is that the author of the ode in Isa. 47 has expressed his thought in evident groups of verses, which we may call strophes if we choose; and within these bounds he has very naturally repeated certain words and ideas, sometimes at equal, sometimes at unequal intervals. The same thing may be observed in more than 'three literatures'; Müller himself extends it to the Greek Testament¹, and could doubtless find striking examples in English or German poetry. At any rate Bevan makes a good beginning by the quotation from Heine in his review of Müller (*Critical Review*, July, 1896, p. 243). The ponderous attempt to make a uniform law out of this free movement, a metrical Procrustes' bed to which even the text must be stretched or pruned, is manifestly doomed to failure. In the very article which Ruben wrote to adduce evidence in support of Müller, he was careful to say (p. 436): 'He has overshot his mark by claiming many more instances for his theory than he should have done. . . . There are at least twenty-three examples, which will, I am sure, stand the severest critical test.'

Not all scholars are so sure of even a score of examples out of the whole body of Hebrew poetry; and it is to be remarked that on receipt of Müller's second book, *Strophenbau und Responsion*, Ruben wrote: 'we are widely at divergence with respect to several important points, notably to the restoration of the texts.'

¹ So too Prof. Friedrich Blass, *SK.*, 1902, pp. 420 ff.; cf. his book, *Brief an die Hebräer*, Halle, 1903. Rev. H. J. Cladder has made a strophical study of Jude, in *JThSt.*, 1904, pp. 589 ff.

On the whole it is my conviction that Müller's learned and somewhat rhapsodical books, like those of Saalschütz, are out of the true line of development of metrical science. As to the strophes themselves, my faith is like a certain clergyman's faith in one of the points of Calvinism: 'I believe in the perseverance of the saints—in theory; and in practice, I believe in it when I see it!'¹

¹ Zenner's *Chorgesänge* has excited some interest in England and America. As he follows Müller in principle, the same general reply is valid against his position. I have already quoted the following from Bellermann: 'The Hebrews have strophes of three to eight verses, which link themselves to one another in a certain manner by parallel lines.' Yet Bellermann would by no means have claimed any *uniform* structure of that sort.

It should be borne in mind constantly that our arbiter is the ear, not the eye. To print parallel columns of cold type, with certain correspondences across the columns, is an easy thing; to believe that the poet expected all these to be marked by his hearers, is a difficult thing.

For details, I need only refer to the searching analysis of Zenner's book in König's *Stilistik*, pp. 351-5.

[Since the above was written, a Commentary on Isaiah by P. Albert Condamin, S. J., has appeared (Paris, 1905), in which the system of Zenner is followed throughout.]

CHAPTER VII

GRIMME AND THE MORAE

IN 1897 the theological faculty of the University of Vienna offered a prize for the best essay on the metres, rhythms, and strophes of the Old Testament. Among the fruits of this contest were the two treatises of Johann Döllner and Nivardus Schlögl, to which I have referred so often. Döllner came out with a universal denial of the presence of metre; Schlögl (who received the prize) after criticizing very fully and carefully all previous writers on the subject, summed up as follows:—

‘We hold the true metrical system to be that which observes the so-called parallelism of members, and leaves the Massoretic text entire, as far as possible, and finally comprehends in itself all the merits in which one or another of the systems examined above excels the rest. And such we deem to be the system of Professor Hubert Grimme,’—which he then proceeds to expound.

And yet Grimme seems to be almost unknown in England and America, although he has been publishing on this subject for a decade. In the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* he is barely mentioned (‘Poetical Literature,’ bracketed additions to Duhm’s article). Budde, in Hastings’ *Dictionary of the Bible*, tells us a little more, and makes known his hostility to the system, but only in a summary fashion. Briggs, in the section of his General Introduction which discusses ‘The Measurements of Hebrew Poetry,’ has much to say of Bickell and Ley, but nothing of Grimme. I must frankly confess that when I wrote my article entitled ‘Primary

Hebrew Rhythm' (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1901, part ii), in which I professed (p. 173) to have made myself acquainted with the leading modern authorities on the subject of Hebrew metre, I had never studied the works of Grimme. Dr. James Kennedy, of Edinburgh, published in 1903 a book of prodigious learning on the note-line Paseq—in apparent ignorance of the fact that Grimme's *Psalmenprobleme* (1902) has a monograph on the same subject which comes to somewhat similar conclusions.

If there is an adequate review of Grimme's works in any English or American periodical—aside from Professor Toy's page and a third in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Oct., 1902—it has escaped my notice. There is good reason, then, for setting down here the titles of Grimme's various publications which bear on the subject before us, so far as they have come to my knowledge.

BOOKS.—*Der Strophenbau in den Gedichten Ephraems des Syrers*, 1893; *Grundzüge der hebräischen Akzent- und Vocallehre*, 1896; *Psalmenprobleme*, 1902. The three books were published in *Collectanea Friburgensia*. The first has an appendix on the connexion between Syrian and Byzantine hymn-forms; the second has one on the form of the name 'Jahwae.'

PAMPHLETS.—*Durchgereimte Gedichte im Alten Testament* (in *Biblische Studien*, vi, 1901, pp. 39–56); *Mètres et strophes dans les fragments hébreux du Manuscrit A de l'Ecclésiastique*, 1901 (63 pp.).

ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS.—'Grundzüge der syrischen Betonungs- und Verslehre,' in *Zeitschrift der d. m. Gesellschaft*, 1893, pp. 276 ff.; 'Abriss der biblisch-hebräischen Metrik,' *Ibid.*, 1896, pp. 529 ff., 1897, pp. 683 ff.; 'Nochmals zur syrischen Betonungs- und Verslehre,' *Ibid.*, 1899, pp. 102 ff.; 'Metrisch-kritische Emendationen zum Buche Hiob,' *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1898, pp. 225 f., 421 ff.; *Ibid.*, 1899, pp. 112 ff.,

259 ff.; 'Zur Frage nach den Psalmenüberschriften,' *Ibid.*, 1901, pp. 580 ff.; 'Wilhelm Meyer und die syrische Metrik,' *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1902, pp. 273 ff.; 'Gedanken über hebräische Metrik,' *Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde*, 1903, pp. 1-14.

The excellent summaries of Döller (pp. 70-4) and Schlögl (pp. 36-8) are now superseded by Grimme's own compendium of his system, in *Psalmenprobleme*, pp. 3-12. This is followed by examples for practice in determining the accent, pp. 12-20. The chief part of the book (pp. 20-131) is on 'Emendations with special reference to their metrical form.' The second part, 'Psalms with variable metre,' covers pp. 132-46; part three, 'On strophes in the Psalms' (Zur Psalmenstrophik), pp. 147-65; part four, 'Paseq-Legarmah in the Psalms,' pp. 166-93.

Scholars who would follow Grimme through all the intricacies and profundities of his subjects will be glad to study the whole list of books, pamphlets, and articles above noted; it will probably be sufficient in an elementary treatise to examine the system as set forth in *Psalmenprobleme*. I abridge the rules in most cases.

Hebrew metre, says Grimme, must be confessed to have a certain individual character; it will not do to force it into the moulds of old-classical or even of new-German metre. Greek and Latin rhythms are of great variety, forming verses partly through mere repetition of the same metrical figure, partly through mingling forms of various character. German metre differs from classical, obtaining its peculiar colouring from the interchange of syllables with more or less stress, according to the strongly expiratory accent of the German tongue, and the quantity of these syllables has only slight estimation in metre. The New German poetry almost confines itself to the iambus and trochee, with an occasional

dactyl or anapaest. Given the opening measure of a verse, one can generally scan the whole poem; verses with variable rhythms are a puzzle to the average man.

Hebrew metre differs from both. Its basis is the Hebrew accent of speech, which is far more expiratory than musical. Let it suffice to refer to the interchange which usually occurs between tone-long vowels, short vowels, and sh'va, in consequence of every shifting or diminution of the tone.

We are to distinguish three grades of tone.

1. *Main tone.*

This is borne by the strongest tone-syllable of every word, considered apart from its connexion in the sentence; and, in the sentence itself, by every prominent word, such as verb-forms, nouns in the absolute state, adverbs like *אז, כן, &c.*

2. *Secondary tone.*

(a) Counter tone to main tone. This is never the first syllable before the main tone, but often the second, e.g. if it is long, and no long syllable precedes, as *מְלַחֵמָה*; or if both preceding and following syllables are long, as *mipp̄lkkudháv*. In some cases it may fall on the third syllable from the main tone, as *mèhammadhá, bà^elohím*.

(b) Counter tone to counter tone. This is on the second or (rarely) on the third syllable before the first counter tone if it is long, e.g. *mèmm^atsukòthehém*.

(c) Main tone diminished. The strongest tone-syllable of every noun in the construct state, of the imperative before a vocative, of personal pronouns strengthening the finite verb, of all prepositions and conjunctions, of weak adverbs, especially negations.

3. *Weak tone.*

(a) Fully vocal syllables that immediately precede or follow a main or secondary tone.

(b) Syllables with movable sh'va.

While these grades of tone prefer an upward succession (commonly in the order—weak tone, secondary tone, main tone), yet in the connexion of words this may be reversed. For if in a phrase-group (*Sprechtakt*) the chief tones of two words come together, the tone of the first word may retreat to the previous syllable, or if that has movable *sh'va*, one step farther back, the *sh'va* then becoming quiescent. But this retraction of the tone (called *Nesiga*) is only possible with words whose final syllable is not a closed syllable with a long vowel; it is therefore most frequent in the inflection of verbs, e.g. *jism'hu li*. But the quantity of syllables (i.e. the length of time required to pronounce vowels and consonants) is more important to correct pronunciation than the grades of tone; it is measured by *morae*. (Grimme defines and characterizes these as Bellermann had done.) Accordingly we have the following classes:

1. Syllables with four morae = closed syllables with a long vowel and syllables with a long diphthong.

2. With three morae = closed syllables with a short vowel, the first part of sharpened syllables, short diphthongal syllables, open syllables with a long vowel, and either the first or the second syllable of segholate forms (e.g. the first syllable of *melek*, the second of *erets*).

3. With two morae = open syllables with short vowel, especially pretonic syllables with *gamets* and *tsere*; also the first or second syllable of segholates, and *sh'va* immediately before a main or secondary tone.

4. With one mora = *sh'va* syllables before a weak tone.

This is certainly an improvement in the way of consistency over Bellermann's exposition of the morae. Grimme adds many details, and resolves a number of apparent exceptions, but we need not go into those particulars. The main point is the use that is made of the morae, and this comes out a little later.

Usually several words are joined by their sound-relations into a phrase-group¹, which is to be regarded syntactically as a whole sentence, or at least as a complete section of a sentence. The succession of sounds in the Hebrew Sprech-takt corresponds to that of the single word so far that here also the tone-series ascends, as a rule, and accordingly the last word is most strongly accented, while the others have a diminished main tone, a secondary tone, or a weak tone. For instance, a noun in the construct state takes a secondary tone, as *ish 'lôhîm*, a subject before a pronominal or nominal predicate takes a diminished main tone, as *jîsmah melek*.

Verse is distinguished from prose especially by the rhythmizing (Rhythmisierung) of its parts. To the word that falls to the accented part of the measure is given an especial stress; those which fall to the unaccented part are made especially light; these tone-contrasts are termed the *rise* and the *fall*. In Hebrew the rises and falls are united in dipodies and tripodies. A dipody consists of two rises with one to three falls between; there may be also an anacrusis of one to three falls, and a single fall at the end. The tripody has three rises, with one to three falls between each pair, and the same anacrusis and final fall.

The simplest form of dipody is $\text{—} \times \text{—}$ 'él nosé, Ps. 99. 8; the fullest form is $\times \times \times \text{—} \times \times \times \text{—} \times$ l'dhôr vadhôr 'mund-thêka, Ps. 119. 90. The simplest form of tripody sounds thus $\text{—} \times \text{—} \times \text{—} \text{—}$ tôbh Jahvé lakkôl, Ps. 145. 9; the fullest is $\times \times \times \text{—} \times \times \times \text{—} \times \times \times \text{—} \times$ v'lo 'ebhôsh v'eshta 'shâ b'mits-vôthêka, Ps. 119. 46, 47.

At the close of the dipody or tripody comes the slight pause of the cesura, which on the one hand prevents an accumulation of falls that would be rhythmically inadmissible,

¹ Literally, *speech-measure* (Sprechtakt). I cannot find a good English word for this compound, so I shall use the German word hereafter.

and on the other hand permits two rises to come together, since the cesura separates them sufficiently.

Pausal tones express the independence of the dipody or tripody, brought most readily to the ear by this halt at the close of a verse. In 4-toned verse, arising from the union of two dipodies, and in 5-toned verse, which is either a tripody plus a dipody or vice versa, the first pause is briefer than the second; but it is proved that the former was not unmarked by the numerous cases of pausal vocalization in the midst of the verse.

The organization of strong, medium, and weak-toned syllables into groups by rises and falls does not take place arbitrarily. There must have been a limit within the tone-group (i. e. the rise with its preceding and following falls up to the next rise) below which the number of morae could not fall, and this would naturally be connected with the strong tone.

Now remembering that the strongest tone-syllable of a Sprechtakt is always a rise, and that a weak-toned syllable is never a rise, we have only to determine (1) when the less strong main-toned syllables, and (2) when the secondary tone-syllables are to be reckoned rises.

(1) This case occurs :

(a) When the main-toned syllable, coming at the beginning of a dipody or tripody counts with the following less-toned syllables up to the next rise at least seven morae.

(b) When less-toned syllables both precede and follow, and the sum of these, with the main-toned syllable, makes at least eight morae.

(2) This case occurs :

(a) When, under the same conditions as in (1) (a), the count is at least eight morae.

(b) When, under the conditions of (1) (b), the count is at least nine morae.

These are the main rules ; there are unimportant exceptions.

As a counterpart to the throwing back of the tone by Nesiga, protraction of the tone (*Zerdehnung*) may occur, as follows : Within a dipody or tripody a main-toned closed syllable with a long vowel (or a long diphthongal syllable) preceding a tone-syllable is decomposed into a main-toned open syllable plus a sh'va-toned syllable (3 + 2 morae), for example : Ps. 25. 6 ב, הַמָּה × הַמָּה — *kî me 'old - m^e hémmâ*.

On the basis of dipody and tripody Hebrew poetry has formed three verse measures :

(1) The trimeter (*Dreiheber*, literally, three-riser), i. e. the tripody used as a full verse measure ; (2) the tetrameter, i. e. the dipody taken twice ; (3) the pentameter, i. e. the union of tripody and dipody, less often of dipody and tripody.

The trimeter is the favourite metre of the choir-lyric, but also of every quiet lyric representation, whereby, through the parallelism of members, the poet likes to give in the second verse an echo of the contents of the first verse. The frequent employment of the trimeter characterizes especially the later periods of the literature.

(2) The tetrameter is occasionally shorn of its fourth beat, which is transferred to the breathing-pause. In that case there is only a slight cesura after the second beat. The tetrameter is the metre especially belonging to the powerful individual lyric of earlier times ; in the prophetic dialect it seems to have been unusual before the appearance of the writing prophets. The parallelism of members never became quite at home in this measure.

(3) The pentameter's earliest appearance was in connexion with the priestly Urim oracles, and the inspired dicta of the primitive prophets ; later it is used in every kind of individual emotional poetry, especially in the elegy, *kind*. As the longest verse, it had least need of the parallelism of members to complete its thought.

On the syntactical side, every Hebrew verse contains a full sentence, or at least a Sprechtakt.

Seldom do we meet with a solitary stichos; commonly they go in pairs, sometimes in triplets. Hebrew metre never tolerates a mingling of verses of different length within the compass of a whole poem; wherever such cases occur in our present text they are due to corruption or to inorganic amalgamation of heterogeneous pieces.

Grimme gives many examples for finding the rises in the various metres. The first is the trimeter, Ps. 2. 10 a:

ועתה מלכים השבילו

The first tone-group must extend from the beginning up to (but not including) the second main tone; hence it is מְלָכִים. וְעֵתָה מֶלֶךְ. וְעֵתָה = 3; מֶלֶךְ = 3; מְלָכִים = 1; וְעֵתָה = 2. As the group begins with an anacrusis it must contain at least eight morae, or it has no rise. There are actually ten, as above; so the syllable וְעֵתָה counts as a rise. The second group, being built in the same way, overlaps the first: מְלָכִים, ten morae, making מְלָכִים a rise. The last group, השבילו, needs no count of morae, for מֶלֶךְ is the strongest main tone in the whole Sprechtakt. So the verse is accented thus:

ועתה מלכים השבילו

× × ˊ | × ˊ | × ˊ × ||

A different case occurs in Ps. 18. 25 b:

כבוד ידי לנגד עיניו:

Here כֶּבֶד counts one mora, and כֹּדֶם four morae, making five, which being less than seven, leads us to the next main tone; we accent the group:

כבוד ידי לנגד עיניו:

× × × ˊ | × ˊ × | × ˊ

Similarly in the tetrameter, Ps. 1. 3 a:

והיה כעץ שתול על פלגי מים

the morae in על-פלני amount to only eight, but since the first syllable of פלני has a secondary tone, and follows a less-toned syllable, nine morae are needed for a rise; we must pass on then to מים and accent thus:

שָׁתוּל עַל-פִּלְנִי מִים

A good example of a pentameter is Ps. 19. 13:

שְׁנֵאוֹת מִי יִבִּין מִנְסַתְרוֹת נִקְנִי

The final letter of the first word is protracted (main tone before main tone), so an extra fall is appended, *ōth 'mi*; this has seven morae, and just escapes being a rise; the tone-group therefore is extended to include *mi ya*, and has in all fourteen morae. The full scansion is:

שְׁנֵאוֹת מִי יִבִּין מִנְסַתְרוֹת נִקְנִי:

× × ˘ | × × × ˘ || ˘ × × ˘ | × ˘ ×

i.e. a dipody plus a tripod.

It is comparatively an easy thing for any system to pick out illustrative verses here and there; let us see how Grimme deals with an entire poem. I select the short Psalm 130, as given in 'Abriss der bib. heb. Metrik' (*Zeitschrift der d. m. Gesellschaft*, 1896, p. 568 f.):

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 5 | 1 מִטְעַמָּים קִרְאֲתִיךְ יְהוָה אֲדֹנִי: |
| 2 + 5 | 2 שְׁמָעָה בְּקוֹלִי תִּהְיֶינָה אוֹנִיךְ קִשְׁבוֹת לִקְוֹל תַּחֲנוּנִי: |
| 5 | 3 אִם עֲוֹנוֹת תִּשְׁמֹר יְהוָה אֲדֹנִי מִי יַעֲמֹד: |
| 5 | 4 כִּי עֲמֹךְ הִסְלִיחָה לְמַעַן תּוֹרָא: |
| 5 | 5 קִוִּיתִי יְהוָה קוֹתָה נַפְשִׁי לִדְבָרוֹ: |
| 5 | 6 הוֹחֵלָה נַפְשִׁי לַיהוָה מִשְׁמָרִים לְבָקֶר: |
| 5 + 5 | 7 כִּשְׁמָרִים לְבָקֶר יֵחַל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵל יְהוָה |
| | כִּי עִם יְהוָה הַחֲסֹד וְהִרְבָּה עִמּוֹ פְּדוּת: |
| 5 | 8 וְהוּא יַפְדֶּה אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּל עֲוֹנוֹתָיו: |

The first thing observable is that ver. 2 is irregular, being in 2 + 5 metre, but when Grimme wrote the 'Abriss' he had not yet formulated the rule that in the same poem no change of rhythm can be tolerated. The variation here is but slight compared with those which he posits on almost every page of his examples in the 'Abriss.' Thus, the seven verses of Psalm 11 have respectively the following lines: 5 + 3, 5 + 5, 5, 3 + 3 + 5, 3 + 5, 3 + 5, 2 + 5. Yet this is reckoned among the Fünfheber, and in *Psalmenprobleme* it is reduced to absolute uniformity.

But the next thing observable is that the variations in Psalm 130 would be numerous if the text had not already been treated by metrical emendation.

Ver. 1 is made a pentameter¹ by withdrawing אדני from ver. 2, which is excused by the combination יה אדני in ver. 3. But this last gives a pentameter with the singular division 4 + 1, as Grimme confesses. In vv. 5 and 6 *soph pasuk* is thrown aside, and by a few rearrangements, as יהוה for אדני, five pentameters are gained for vv. 5 to 7. Now let us turn to *Psalmenprobleme*, p. 117 f. At the end of ver. 1 יהוה אדני is dropped as an insertion, *soph pasuk* is overridden, and the verse is carried on through בקולי. If one asks why, no answer is given save that the metre demands it. If one asks whence came the rule that there must be no blending of metres in the same poem, there seems to be no answer whatever outside the subjectivity of the system. The difficulties of vv. 6 ff. are surmounted by other means than those employed in the 'Abriss.' נפש is dropped as a repetition from ver. 5, and whereas in the 'Abriss' אדני was changed to יהוה for the declared purpose of getting rid of the extra fall, it is restored here because the fall is needed. Everything

¹ Or rather, a 5-toned line. Prof. Toy suggests the terms *quinary*, *binary*, &c. The simplest notation would be to speak of a verse in 5⁵, in 2⁵, &c. Cf. Sievers's 'Fünfer,' 'Zweier,' &c.

after the first לִבְקֶר is thrown out as an addition of the redactor, who changed this purely individual psalm to an 'Israel' psalm. The reader may be curious to know how the six irregular feet out of the total fourteen which were just noted in Psalm 11 are brought up to concert pitch. The process is as follows: In ver. 1, 'flee as a bird to your mountain' is pronounced an insertion; strike this out, and a pure pentameter is left. Ver. 2, 'The Massoretic verse division seems untenable, since it creates two unequal verses of seven and four rises.' But here again the question is begged; the very thing to be proved before the present jury is the law of inviolable equality. 'I put the diaeresis before חָצֵם, so that קוֹנֵנו refers to the bow, as in Ps. 7. 13.' This reason is assigned also in the 'Abriss,' but is there preceded by a weightier one: 'because in the first place the metre demands it'—*weil zunächst das Metrum hierzu zwingt*.

'In ver. 3 (read 4) is one יהוה too much.' Too much for what? evidently for the metre, and specially for this new interpretation that makes the metre rigid; for in the 'Abriss' Grimme defends this very יהוה against Kautzsch. But by giving it up he now transforms $3 + 3 + 5$ into $5 + 5$. 'In ver. 5 the first three words now excite in me suspicions of their genuineness.' They were all right in the 'Abriss,' where the metre of the verse was $3 + 5$; they are all right as to sense, marking as they do the familiar contrast between צִדִּיק and רָשָׁע; but they must be sacrificed to the pentameter. Grimme has overlooked after all the $3 + 5$ measure of ver. 7, but it would be easy for him to reject the first clause. However, the verse is more naturally read as $4 + 3$.

The body of *Psalmenprobleme*, pp. 20-131, 'Emendations with special regard to metrical form,' is full of suggestions like these, many of them valuable on other grounds, but all assuming that the metrical theory can be used as a critical

help, whereas the shoe is on the other foot; for the emendations, so far as they commend themselves, do no doubt give plausibility to Grimme's view; but whether this qualifying clause covers fifty per cent. of the whole, or more, or less, is a matter to be referred to the consensus of scholars; and the decision of it, if ever to be reached, is a long way in the future. With a *mens conscia recti*, Grimme makes the appeal to such a tribunal at the opening of his articles on Job in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* (1898, p. 300): 'There lie before us just now, from the pen of each of the modern Metriker, comprehensive works upon the book of Job; by J. Ley, the study of "The metrical condition of the book of Job" (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1895, pp. 635-92); by G. Bickell, "Critical treatment of the Job dialogue" (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenl.*, 1892); finally, by P. Vetter, the accurate metric-analytic investigation, "The metre of the book of Job" (*Bibl. Stud.*, vol. ii, part 4, 1897). And now, whoever sees in the subject of Hebrew metre more than an idle pastime, and desires to make a standing-place for himself in it, will do well to put the above-named writings in constant comparison with this essay of mine, and to ask himself in which of them is found the least degree of violent interference with the text, the largest measure of consistency, and the richest dividend for exegetical science.'

These are brave words, and it is possible that the issue will justify the implied claim; but meanwhile it is to be noticed that the opposite page, treating of the brief section, Job 3.17—4.18, has the following remark with respect to more than a dozen different passages: 'the verse is too long; strike out' this or that; also that the pages which follow contain hundreds of similar suggestions, and scores of the contrasted 'too short; insert' this or that. It is to be hoped that the dividend will prove as rich as it is abundant; but the riches will not accrue from putting the metrical system at

interest, until this particular theory becomes current coin among metrical scholars. Now since it is almost a truism among the modern *Metriker* that *Job* is written in hexameters throughout, and since Grimme recognizes nothing but trimeters, tetrameters, and pentameters, it is easy to see, on the one hand, why so many feet are 'too long,' and on the other hand, why it will be so difficult for the dividend to accrue.

Many of the emendations in *Psalmenprobleme* are introduced by the exclamation 'Paseq!' In the last division of this book, Grimme defends with much ability the thesis that *Paseq* indicates a corruption in the text; accordingly he feels warranted in emending any passage so marked¹.

Dr. Kennedy, whose book I noticed above, gives a much fuller induction of the material, from which he draws the inferences that *Paseq* frequently marks the position of textual difficulties, but that inexplicable insertions sometimes appear, and that there is a want of uniformity in the use of the line. Sometimes it is strikingly absent when it might have been expected. Different manuscripts and printed editions vary, parallel passages vary, and even the mood of the scribe also varied. The data give a mixed result, not a simple one; and consequently *Paseq* cannot be regarded as always marking a corrupt text.

Before leaving Grimme's system, let us observe its application to some passages from the psalms of the three middle books which we examined in chapter i. In many respects it shows a clear gain over that rough and ready method. It is a coincidence, which I did not notice when preparing the chapter, that Grimme also begins his examples in the 'Abriss' with Psalm 54; it is all the more striking therefore that the two scansiones agree in almost every measure. The

¹ Cf. his article 'Pasekstudien,' *Biblische Zeitschrift*, 1903, pp. 337 f.; 1904, pp. 28 ff.

editorial insertion of יהוה in many unauthorized places is a matter of common belief among modern critics; by dropping that word from the last half of ver. 8, Grimme secures three regular feet:

אֲדָה שְׁמֶךָ כִּי טוֹב :

It is true that when reading for the sense in *English*, we should say, 'I'll praise thy *name*' אֲדָה שְׁמֶךָ, rather than 'I'll *praise* name *thy*'; but the latter is no more awkward in English than the former is in Hebrew.

We will take up next a psalm which appeared very irregular. In Psalm 64 we found twenty-two feet, of which three were five-toned, seven were four-toned, eight were three-toned, and four were two-toned. Grimme makes it four-toned throughout. 4 b he calls 'metrically correct,' in accordance with his rule that the last beat of a tetrameter or pentameter may be absorbed in the pause accent—a most convenient rule, utilized again at the end of ver. 6. In the earlier part of that verse comes the warning '*Paseq*!' and so the tetrameter is saved by throwing out as editorial the words דָּבַר רַע יִסְפְּרוּ. This seems a plausible conjecture. Still better is ver. 8, emended with the help of the Peshitta, which begins, 'God arouses himself and shoots at them an arrow,' pointing to a play upon words in the original, וַיִּרָם יְהוָה וַיִּרָם. Compare ver. 5: וַיִּרָם וַיִּרָם.

In view of many such helpful suggestions, it is a pity that Grimme felt obliged to force through everywhere a uniform metre for each poem.

In the matter of strophes, Grimme is more moderate than some of his fellow workers. In the '*Abriss*' he was wont to call each Massoretic verse a strophe. At present, he recognizes the *selah* and the refrain as the two distinguishing marks of a strophe; he goes through the Psalter and finds that about fifty of the one hundred and fifty psalms are strophically

organized in whole or in part. But he is somewhat too free in his manipulation of *selah*; now following, now transposing, and again discarding it. In his Preface a remark is made on the subject of strophes, which is worth quoting, if only for its neat witticism:

‘Though often in well-attested strophical pieces, encroachments on the text must be ventured, which run decidedly counter to Philology as “love for the word,” still there fails me quite the courage or the indiscretion to pursue strophics at cost of the text, where the safe and regular track has been lost.’

It is refreshing to pass from the ponderosities of Müller to an author who possesses the saving sense of humour.

Moreover, Grimme recognizes the tentative character of much of his own work. He is often saying, in effect: ‘Not that I have already attained, but I follow after.’ Thus in *Psalmenprobleme*, p. vi: ‘But until our knowledge has embraced the entire circle of Semitic metrical forms, and connected them with their centre in primitive Semitic verse, we shall remain in the epoch of attempts, which are ill calculated to convince the stubborn sceptic.’ Recognizing Ley as his master (so he distinctly declared in 1896—‘Abriss,’ p. 530) Grimme has yet sought to improve upon him by making the system of the former ‘more sharply precise and well grounded.’ While he professes to have learned almost nothing from Bickell, the two agree in one of the most important recent developments of metrical theory—namely, in insistence not merely upon accent, but upon some definite limits, outside of which a *Sprechtakt* cannot be recognized as such. As between the two, Grimme’s system is preferable; he seems to be pointed in the right direction; but his system of *morae* is still too subjective to solve all the problems which it raises. And besides, while Professor Toy’s criticism is probably too sweeping, there is some foundation for it:

‘It is noteworthy that in his (Grimme’s) emendations, he makes almost no use of his mora-system, which in his introduction (pp. 9–20) he illustrates at length’ (*Am. Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. ix, p. 60). Ley, in his latest article, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1903, pp. 184–6, rejects Grimme’s morae, but counts the *falls* instead.

One cannot take leave of this genial author more fittingly than in his own recent words (*Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde*, vol. i, p. 14):

‘At all events, I am very far from the opinion that at the point where metrics and text-criticism play into each other’s hands, a biblical text can arise, which will bear upon itself the stamp of genuineness. While metrics is well adapted to put us on the watch for certain blemishes in the text, especially for the presence of gaps or insertions within the verses, still it possesses no real power of positive emendation. Already in our day, however, there has been put forth in the name of metrics a torrent of emendations, which are called metrical only by courtesy. So we are obliged betimes to pour water into the fiery wine of certain Metriker, and to recommend strongly to students of the new tendency a cool self-possession as the primary virtue.

‘But even if biblical criticism should have little profit, or none at all, from Hebrew metrics, still the latter would be by no means worthless; in any case, it is an important supplement to Hebrew linguistics, a preliminary condition for the understanding of general Semitic metrics, a characteristic discipline for essential Semitic criticism.’

CHAPTER VIII

SIEVERS AND THE ANAPAEST

DR. EDUARD SIEVERS, Professor of the German language and literature in the University of Leipzig, has laid the English-speaking world, as well as his fellow countrymen, under lasting obligations by his profound and valuable researches in various departments of philology. His interest in Hebrew metrics is very recent, and came about on this wise. In January, 1898, his friend Frants Buhl, the well-known editor of Gesenius's *Lexicon*, with whom he had often discussed metrical questions, named over to him a few Hebrew poems that seemed reasonably regular in their metrical form, and asked him to investigate them from his own standpoint. The passages were Deut. 32, Lam. 3, Job 3, Ezek. 15, and Ezek. 19. Up to that time, Sievers states, his knowledge of Hebrew poetry had been merely elementary, and he had shared the conviction which is still the prevailing one in scholarly circles, and which was formulated so baldly by Kuenen: *metrisch ist die hebräische Poesie nicht*. Accordingly he was much surprised upon reading through the first passage, Deut. 32, to find it clearly and almost completely metrical, falling readily into the forms of anapaestic verse.

It may be remarked parenthetically, that Professor Sievers was exceedingly fortunate in this first acquaintance, and that Professor Buhl showed the wisdom of the serpent in offering a passage which has been recognized for centuries as one of the most regular poems in its structure; had he asked

his friend to open the book of Psalms at random, the chances are that the scepticism of the latter would have been deepened. But in that case, the world might have lost one of the ablest contributions to our subject which has ever been written.

Professor Sievers went on through his list of passages with increasing wonder and delight. More material was then suggested to him; for the most part of the same typically regular class; though he soon began to discover and classify irregularities and exceptions. As early, however, as February 5, 1898, he was able to present the first-fruits of his new studies before the philological-historical section of the Academy of Science, in a paper 'On the rhythmic foundations of Hebrew verse-structure.' Thereafter, in the intervals of pressing duties, the subject was eagerly pursued; by the spring of the following year, the first draft had grown to a great treatise, which, as finally printed in 1901, fills 600 pages of imperial octavo. The extent of the undertaking, the fame of the author, and the novelty—but for his evident modesty, one would say the mere audacity—of this sudden transition from the Aryan to the Semitic field, caused the achievement to be noised abroad, even in England and America, as a piece of news, though it was coupled with very little information as to the contents of the book. The name of Sievers became familiar in biblical as well as philological circles, but to the most of the former class it was merely a name. Up to the present time, Professor Sievers has issued only this one book on Hebrew metre; if any critic were disposed to make a disparaging contrast between this and the numerous productions of other *Metriker*, our author might well reply, *unum sed leonem*. The title reads thus: *Studien zur hebräischen Metrik*. Erster Theil: Untersuchungen. Zweiter Theil: Textproben. Leipzig, 1901.

The second part of the book, which comprises a third

of the whole, gives on each left-hand page the unpointed Hebrew text of the various passages, and on the opposite page a transliteration and metrical arrangement with explanatory footnotes. The passages number ninety-three; there are ten from the Pentateuch, six from the historical books, thirty-four from the Prophets, twenty from the Psalms, four from the Proverbs, five from Job, four from Lamentations, two from Ecclesiastes, and eight from the Song of Songs (the entire book). The Psalms examined are, 1-15, 18, 25, 37, 111, 112. Outside the first book of Psalms, thus, only the alphabetical 111 and 112 come up for consideration. This second, or practical, part of the volume is based upon the preceding 'investigations.' The contents of Part I are as follows. After the introductory division, and a second, which explains in detail the method of transcription adopted, we have, in order:

'Preliminary discussions on universal rhythm,' pp. 25-72; 'Problems of Hebrew Metre in general, and previous attempts to solve them,' pp. 73-88; 'Foundations of Hebrew Metre,' pp. 89-400. Under this last—chap. i, 'Form and relation of the sources,' pp. 89-98; chap. ii, 'Lines and periods,' pp. 98-115; chap. iii, 'The use of different periods in Hebrew,' pp. 115-28; chap. iv, 'Smooth metres and mixed metres,' pp. 129-34; chap. v, 'Periods and strophes,' pp. 134-41; chap. vi, 'The rhythm of Hebrew verses,' pp. 142-76; chap. vii, 'Verse-ictus and speech-accent,' pp. 176-288; chap. viii, 'Verse-structure and speech-form,' pp. 288-358; chap. ix, 'Metre and text-criticism,' pp. 359-71; chap. x, 'Results and outlook,' pp. 372-400.

The weightiest part of the book, in my judgement, is found in Division III; 'Preliminary discussions on universal rhythm,' where the author's foot is on his native heath. He grapples, at the outset, with the supposed difference between metre and rhythm, which he denies; rhythm has been assumed

to relate to accent, and metre to quantity in the classical sense; but this distinction will not hold to-day. Poetry as well as music requires for its full expression an external representation, a *movement in time*. So far as this is regular and articulated, we call it rhythm. The substratum of the movement—what Aristoxenus calls the *rhythmizomenon*—consists of the sounds of speech, succeeding each other at intervals in a given time, part of which may be filled by silence instead of sound. These portions of sound (phases) and of silence (pauses) together make a rhythmical or metrical series. A single phase in music is a sound; in poetry a syllable.

When the different phases and pauses are combined by groups into separate unities, rhythm arises. The simplest rhythmic groups are *feet* in verse, *measures* in music. Above the feet are rhythmic groups of a higher order, namely, (in ascending series) sections, lines, periods (stanzas), strophes. Not all are present in every metrical form; and stanzas are infrequent.

Each foot divides into two ideal parts, the rise and the fall, thesis and arsis. (Sievers here charges the common nomenclature with error. He makes thesis the rise and arsis the fall.)

The two most important factors of rhythm are the division of time and the gradation of stress. As to the former, music is more strict than poetry; it gives the so-called rational, poetry the irrational, rhythm. In music the natural time-values are brought under the yoke of rhythmic time-values; all tones are in the exact relations of 1, 2, 4, &c., with no fractions; but every good ear can verify the statement that the natural time-values in language are longer or shorter according to circumstances; and yet we are constantly confusing the two provinces, and repeating such statements as that a long syllable has twice the time of a

short syllable. It is impossible to represent accurately, by means of musical notation, the time-relations of the syllables in a modern spoken sentence.

A verse of poetry has but one *principal* kind of division, that into feet; and while the feet are theoretically of equal duration, this is true in practice only of some of the more elevated emotional compositions, where one can beat time from foot to foot; when ordinary recital follows closely the shades of the sense, the duration of the feet varies; some are protracted, others shortened.

Despite all this, our modern poetry is often described as measured by 'iambi,' 'trochees,' &c., but herein is a manifest persistence of the age-long confusion about the nature of metre. All such terms have their origin in *musical* rhythmic. A trochee was originally a 'falling' measure (i. e. moving from long to short) in $\frac{3}{8}$ time, an iambus a 'rising' measure of the same form, a dactyl was a falling $\frac{4}{4}$, an anapaest a rising $\frac{4}{4}$. But these measures at the same time had definite relations to the forms of the language that was to be rhythimized. By the side of the musical trochee, for instance, there stood a two-syllable falling *foot* as language-substratum; for each word-syllable there was a definite and uniform quantity. But when strict musical rhythm is given up in vocal delivery the time-beat vanishes, and only the language-feet remain. Quantity has yielded to accent, trochee and spondee are alike $\times \times$, dactyl $\times \times \times$, anapaest $\times \times \times$, &c. For these external schemes the old time-beat names are then senselessly dragged in, and definitions, too, which only fit the measure of rational rhythm, by no means the irrational feet of spoken verse. The number of syllables in the foot now plays the rôle of constitutive factor. The ancients designated the foot as consisting of a certain number of morae, the mora being the *χρόνος πρῶτος*, not an absolute time-value like $\frac{1}{60}$ of a minute, but a certain fraction of the

time assumed for the whole foot, as in $\frac{4}{4}$ time $\frac{1}{4}$ of the measure, &c. We, on the other hand, designate the foot as a compound of two, three, or four syllables.

It scarcely needs to be added that between genuine song (rational rhythm) and verse recitation (irrational rhythm) there are intermediate gradations and transitional forms, as musical recitative, intonation, and cantillation.

As in music there are different forms of coupling the measures (compare $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ time), so in poetry we have feet united in a monopodic or a dipodic way. The difference between these is manifested in three directions; tone-strength, tone-height, and tempo.

1. In a simply monopodic line there are but two grades of tone-strength, the rise and the fall, in constant alternation from heavy to light, as

will sich | Héktor | éwig | von mir | wénden.

On the other hand, the dipody has at least three contrasted grades of tone-strength; that of the stronger (predominant) rise, that of the weaker (subordinate) rise, and that of the two falls, which may also besides be of different grades with respect to each other, thus:

Áls ich | nõch ein | Knábe | wàr (pause) ||
spérrte | mán mich | éin (pause) ||

In the dipody, as a rule, the dynamic intervals are greater than in the monopody; the former also gives the verse a livelier movement.

2. As to tone-height, we are to notice especially the mutual relation of the rises. In the monopody this relation is free, the syllables may be uttered on the same level of pitch, or they may vary in this respect without any definite order of succession. But in the dipody one rise is always higher than the next; if the first rise is low the next in the same dipody

is high, and vice versa. If we use the symbol · for a high tone and , for a low tone, our last example will read thus:

Á·ls ich : nõ·ch ein | Kná·be : wà·r (p) |
spe·rrte : mà·n mich | eín (p) ||

3. Concerning tempo, it is to be noted that in the normal rate of utterance the total duration of a foot is appreciably less than the product of the number of syllables by the time of the single syllable; thus a six-syllable foot takes less than sixfold the time of its average syllable pronounced alone. This can be proved by the metronome. Now the same relation holds between monopody and dipody; the latter is spoken faster than the former. A distich like

Phylax, der so manche Nacht
Haus und Hof getreu bewacht,

can be prolonged almost *ad libitum* without losing its effect, but if one tries the same thing with

Áls ich nõch ein Knábe wàr
sperrte màn mich eín

it breaks up into prose.

Like the rise in a single foot, the stronger tone in a dipody may take either the first or the second place; there may be falling dipodies ' ' or rising ' '. The former is seen in the last example, the latter in

Sie wàr so fróm·m, | sie wàr so gút·||

The two may be blended in the same verse (broken rhythm), as

Ein fróm·mer Kne·cht | war Frí·dol·in.

What is commonly called a verse may correspond rhythmically to a line or a period; there are verses of 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 feet (or beats, if one counts by beats). But the 5-foot line may be regarded as a period of 3 + 2 lines, and the 6-foot

line as a period of 3 + 3 lines. All longer verses are periods, not single lines.

At the end of each line stands a cesura; often also a similar section is made within the line by a mid-cesura. In that case the 6-toned line becomes 2 + 4, less often 4 + 2, or even 2 + 2 + 2.

Lines do not occur singly, but in groups; hence each line has to be regarded as the component part of a period, and often of a higher group. The line as an element in the period is called a member. The real rhythmical time-value of a line is not always to be found by simply adding its vocal elements; the pauses must also be reckoned, for example in

spérte | mán mich | éin (× | ½ ×)

the pause equals one and a half feet. Such a line is called brachycatalectic.

The original form of the period is two-membered, consisting of fore-sentence and after-sentence. It does not necessarily extend to a strophe; periods may follow each other naturally without being articulated symmetrically.

Accent may be either that of the word or the sentence. In each case we must take account of the gradation both in stress and in heightening of the tone, distinguishing accordingly the dynamic (or expiratory) and the musical accent. Every known language mingles these elements, but in different proportions, so that for instance the Teutonic languages are characteristically expiratory, the Romance languages musical.

Some forms of poetry are not sensitive to disturbances of the word-accent in any form, and so they present the pure type of accentual verse-structure. Such was the ancient Greek poetry, built upon quantity. Then there are transitional forms, like the Latin, which though quantitative preserves the word-accent in the last half of most hexameter

verses. On this account we must not in doubtful cases adopt the hard-and-fast distinctions 'accentual' or 'non-accentual.' Such transitional forms are not strange, for since a verse comes to the condition of rhythmizomenon by means of a certain equalizing of the rhythmic scheme and the accentual scheme, a compromise is as conceivable as a full victory. In all such cases of compromise we must sift the material critically and keep within the bounds of those deviations from natural accentuation that are technically permissible; we should attempt also to ascertain the causes of the deviation. One of the commonest causes is that certain word-forms fit badly with their natural accent into the prescribed metres or metrical positions. For instance, the rising character of the accentual anapaest in German is disturbed by the occasional entrance within the verse of forms like $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$ or $\text{—} \text{—} \times$; in such cases the accent is shifted to $\text{—} \text{—}$ or $\text{—} \text{—} \times$, as

*an*stimmend ge*—*j*—*äuchzt in des Si*—*éges F*—*estschritt,

but still the last two stresses are almost equalized, and the result is what may be called the 'hovering' or suspended tone (schwebende Betonung). No *a priori* rules can be given to cover such cases; experiment must guide us. One can only say that such an equalizing is easier as the difficulties to be overcome are less; easier, for example, in a conflict between main and secondary tones than between main tone and tonelessness.

The *sentence accent* also must sometimes be modified by suspended tone, and by the same means as the word accent. But apart from these occasional shiftings the natural sentence accent is as important in accentual poetry as the word accent. On its varieties of gradation and articulation rests the difference not only between monopodic and dipodic connexion in general, but also that of the different sub-classes of these

connective forms. The forms themselves are ascertainable from the sentence accent, when they are not directly handed down. But two things are to be noted.

(1) It cannot be expected that all passages will be equally plain as to their connective form. For example, in

Nun verlass' ich diese Hütte,
meinen liebsten Aufenthalt,
wandle mit verhülltem Schritte
durch den öden, finstern Wald—

the first two lines, *apart from* the others, might be monopody or dipody, but the last two show that the whole is dipodic.

(2) The same example illustrates an important general rule. Lines 1 and 2 have each four feet, two of which would be less prominent than the others if the piece were read as prose, but in their rhythmic connexion they are elevated to an equality, it matters not whether by stress or pitch. On the other hand, the three important words in each of the two last lines cannot be brought down to the level of the others. Hence the general rule—prose depressions can be elevated in verse, but prose elevations cannot be depressed.

We come now to Division 4 : 'Problems of Hebrew Metre in general, and previous attempts to solve them.'

Every 'Metrik,' including Hebrew, has to contemplate certain leading questions, such as the mode or modes of representing the poetry (song, recital, or both), and the form of the rhythm. How is the rhythmizomenon to be rhythmized? We cannot take up a poem with the pre-judgement 'it must be' thus or thus; there is but one proper method, that of cautiously testing everything by audible recitation. If one can carry naturally through long stretches of the text a form of direct rhythm which satisfies general metrical laws, and also the rhythmical feeling of speaker and hearer, he may believe with some confidence that he has at

least made a close approximation to the metre intended by the author. The less preliminary theory the better outside these laws of universal rhythm; theories are to be deduced from groups of facts obtained by constant and intelligent practice.

The course of Hebrew metrical investigation has been sadly hampered by confounding two things that belong apart, rhythmical form and poetical style. The 'parallelism of members' is a case in point; it is a connexion of thought more than of form; we must lay aside all these matters of style. With respect to the rhythmical form, the Metriker fall into several groups.

(a) Quantitative systems. These confound rational and irrational rhythm, and have been already answered. They include, too, the ancient systems of morae. Grimme has revived the term and connected it with his own predominantly accentual system, but the objection seems fatal that the addition of the morae from beat to beat gives different sums, and so breaks the indispensable equality of time-measure between the feet.

(b) Syllable-counting systems: of these only Bickell's deserves mention at the present day. Besides his Syriac parallels, we might draw others from the *Vedas*, where we have something similar to this constant alternation between trochee and iambus. But the essential difference is that in the *Vedas* the number of the syllables in most of the verses is handed down and incorporated in the text; in the Old Testament it is only theoretically postulated by Bickell, and it cannot be applied to the text without countless manipulations and corrections; moreover, the result is an impossible text which has no right to the name of Hebrew.

(c) The only other group consists of accentual systems, and these clearly hold the field in principle; only the method is debatable. To be sure, accent is only one of the

cardinal principles of verse structure, but it is well to emphasize it in reaction from the quantitative conceptions that preceded. Merx started on the true line in the Introduction to his Commentary on Job (1871), but contented himself with a few hints. Ley has worked independently of Merx, and has won the lasting merit of creating for the first time a needful basis for further discussion, on which basis rest the only tenable positions relating to the length of the verse, &c. But there is an essential gap in his system, which Grimme attempts unsuccessfully to fill up with the morae. By counting only the rises and disregarding the falls in a verse he leaves himself no control over the verse as a whole; he simply brings together a conglomerate of counted syllable-heaps of rhythmically indifferent form and duration. His verses must be fully rhythmized, and both constants accounted for before they can become genuine metrical forms¹.

In his fifth and final division, 'Foundations of Hebrew Metre,' Sievers shows in the first place that Hebrew songs were not like our modern songs, but were song-like recitations in 'irrational' rhythm; that we can therefore examine all their poetry under the head of spoken rather than of musical verse.

Under the caption 'lines and periods' he declares that the arguments of Ley and his followers seem to prove conclusively that Hebrew metre is only possible under the pre-supposition that its verses were in essence accentual. Hence two practical rules:

(1) The position of the rises within the verse is determined by the position of the natural word accents, apart from some subordinate rhythmical shiftings of tone.

(2) The number of rises to be assigned to a single verse

¹ Of course this criticism is superseded by Ley's latest article, in which he came over to the counting of the falls.

depends on the natural accent of the sentence and of the sense.

(Sievers here adds a rule which he is to prove later :)

(3) The most normal form of the verse-foot is the trisyllabic $\times \times \text{—}$ or its resolution $\times \times \text{↗}$; with this, in consequence of a different phasing, may enter — , or $\times \text{—}$, or $\times \times \text{↗}$, with their resolutions.

Now as this is the most characteristic feature of the system we will turn at once to the evidence, pp. 143 ff. : ‘A glance at any Hebrew text shows that the overwhelming majority of all poetic lines begin with one or more untuned syllables and end with a tuned syllable.’ The example adduced (p. 143) is Deut. 32 again, where of course all is plain sailing. The most frequent feet are found (p. 149) to be $\times \text{—}$ and $\times \times \text{—}$, with their resolutions $\times \text{↗}$ and $\times \times \text{↗}$. Once more, Deut. 32 furnishes the pattern, and all the permutations of the normal foot are found to tally with its metres. But (p. 150) since $\times \text{—}$ and $\times \times \text{—}$ are mingled, which is primary? ‘One falls into hasty stumbling if he tries to speak all the verses in the average movement of two-syllable feet; on the other hand, the verses sound right and dignified if recited according to the scheme of the three-syllable foot, like the German anapaest. *The trial decides therefore for $\times \times \text{—}$ as the ground form, i.e. for the anapaest-like character of these verses.*’ The italics are Sievers’s. (P. 151) : ‘On this theory is based the whole further investigation, as well as a good part of the preceding.’

This witness is true. The theory results from a proper empirical observation, but it ought not to have been made to cover so much unsurveyed territory. The author goes on to account for $\times \text{—}$ by the protraction (*Ueberdehnung*) of a previous rise and for — by resolving it into ↗↗ , and for other exceptions by the hovering rhythm, and so on through 250 pages, all resting on the assumption that because $\times \times \text{—}$ is

a *frequent* form, all other forms must be somehow derived from it or connected with it. It is to be remembered that Sievers repeatedly expresses regret for his limited vocabulary, and declares that his results are to be taken with that limitation. Suppose he had begun with Grimme's simplest dipody $\text{—} | \times \text{—}$ *Ēl nōsē*, or with Ewald's tripod $\text{—} | \times \text{—} | \times \text{—}$ *Tōbh Jahwē l'kōl*; would it not have been possible to formulate rules and exceptions that would have brought all into harmony with some other fundamental foot? Would it not be better still to acknowledge frankly that Hebrew metre is as free as the German to which he constantly compares it, and that a Hebrew poet was at liberty to employ $\times \text{—}$ or $\text{—} \times$ without any previous protraction or other device? As a matter of common observation, it is true, $\times \times \text{—}$ is one of the feet most often used. But it is simply Bellermann's $\times \text{—}$ with the prefixed *sh'va* which he discarded.

The reader who has the curiosity and the patience may choose to go through all this vast accumulation of material, as I myself did, slowly and thoroughly, in the summer of 1902, and if his experience is like mine, he will be constantly protesting *οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι*. We are under the greatest obligations to Sievers for rectifying in many particulars the foundations of Hebrew metrics, for which needed work he was fully competent; but it was his misfortune to have at command only the most regular examples of Hebrew poetry rather than the whole body of it, and to become dominated by a theory which cannot be applied universally.

One valuable feature of his book must not be forgotten; the brief section on periods and strophes, chap. 5, of book v. D. H. Müller's respiration system he rejects decidedly. Müller's strophes, he says, are nothing but prose-texts; even his lines or verses are not really rhythmical forms, and so we lose every objective measure for the judgement of his strophes. 'If Müller has found something here and there which is

undoubtedly correct, that has happened, to my thinking, not on the basis of his system, but despite it.'

In the summary of this chapter, he expresses doubt as to the validity of strophes that extend beyond two or three periods. Rather, the whole mass of Hebrew poetry seems to divide itself into sections or divisions *according to the sense*, often bounded by the *soph pasuk*. Strophes in the narrower sense are not excluded; only one must proceed cautiously from case to case, and constitute strophes only when they spring up as it were of themselves.

As a general rule, Hebrew technic stops with periodic articulation; groups of these periods may sometimes have the function of strophes. 'At all events the great freedom of the form of Hebrew poetry secures at the same time an advantage not to be undervalued, that it can follow when it will all gradations of the thoughts without restraint, and so can help the thoughts themselves to their most natural expression. Yet in and with this freedom, Hebrew poetry is and remains genuine even according to its form, that is, it is in the widest sense a metrical or verse-measured poetry.'

This same freedom Sievers vindicates (against Grimme's present view) as regards the multiform grouping of the feet into verses. Would that he had carried the principle a step further downward!

He is hardly convincing when he attempts to show the poetical and metrical character of many passages which are commonly regarded as prose. What kind of poetry results I can best indicate by an example. A few betterments are given in the Nachwort.

Jonah i. 3^c-5^b.

wajjittén š'charáh | wajjéřēđ bāh | labó 'immahém [ṭaršišā
millifnē jahwē] || (6)

wejahwē heṭlurūx [-geḏōlā] 'el-hajjám || waihiṣá'ar-gaḏōl
 bajjám || 3 (4 ?): 3
 wehá'ōnijjá | xiššebá lehiššabér || 4 (?)
 wajj'irēú hammallaxím wajjiz'āqú | 'iš 'el-'ēlohāu || 5 (?)
 wajjaṭilú 'ēḇ-hakkelim [('āšer ba'ōnijjā)] 'el-hajjám | lehaqél
 me'ālēhem || (5 ?)

I have yet to learn of a competent authority on Hebrew metrics who believes in $\times \times \angle$ as the pattern upon which Hebrew verses are built. Professors Schlögl, Toy, Grimme, and Ley are among those who have expressed themselves distinctly against Sievers in this and in some other particulars. See especially Schlögl's thorough and damaging review from the standpoint of Grimme's system (*Litterarisches Centralblatt*, 1902, col. 22 ff.). The fact cannot be charged to the exclusive interest of each one in his own system; for we are to add one more to the remarkable concessions of Ley in his latest published article to which I have referred so often. He takes pains to refute Döller's charge that every Metriker stands for himself alone; he shows that the investigators on different lines are approaching each other, and he takes occasion to bestow high praise upon Sievers's 'bahnbrechend' work, though condemning the onesidedness of his anapaestic theory.

Even Schlögl cannot conclude his severe arraignment without confessing how much he has learned from Sievers, and commending the *Studien* to all students of Hebrew metrics.

CHAPTER IX

RESULTS

THE distinction between rhythm and metre cannot be maintained ; it is one of the merits of Sievers to have shown this clearly. So far as Hebrew poetry has come down to us by tradition, a portion of it is fully metrical, another portion is unmetrical, and a third is partially metrical. It may be possible at some future day, through textual criticism, higher criticism, and ingenious devices of various sorts, to bring the bulk of the two last classes under the first class ; but not one of the metrical systems thus far put forth has accomplished this result. If it is ever reached, it will only be by the labour of many workmen for many years ; and even then there will probably remain a large unexplained residuum.

Still, the systems already devised have been by no means in vain ; when one reviews them sympathetically, aiming to extract and combine the good in each, it is remarkable to what a degree the light grows ; the theories so often regarded as isolated or antagonistic are found to be really connected and to some degree progressive. The progress, to be sure, is not in a straight line, but rather in an irregular spiral, which seems to recede only to advance. Fortunately the spiral may be considered as winding upward around a cone ; the diameter is ever narrowing, and some future climber may be able to put his hat over the apex—perhaps about the time some other climber discovers the north pole !

The father of genuine Hebrew metrics is Bellermann

(1813). His predecessors were subjective and fanciful; he built soberly on the basis of the Massoretic text, but was not averse to occasional emendations. He recognized as the prevailing Hebrew metre the so-called iambus, which is accentual, not quantitative; he perceived the difference between Hebrew and classical poetry. He held that sh'va was to be altogether neglected in rhythm; and so his iambs would often correspond to what others have called anapaests.

Saalschütz (1825) corrected some of Bellermann's minor errors, notably in the system of morae and the force of sh'va, but gave the spiral a twist in the wrong direction by maintaining that the Hebrew foot is descending rather than ascending:—

∟ × or ∟ × ×, not × ∟ or × × ∟.

His attempt to prove this was very elaborate and earnest and was renewed in 1853; but it has utterly failed. His first book, however, will always be useful for its very full and thorough refutation of all the writers on Hebrew metre who preceded Bellermann.

Ewald (1835-9) is the first writer on our topic who sounds the modern note of development, and relates Hebrew metrics to all the departments of Oriental learning in which he was a past-master. Narrowly regarded, he adds little to the special investigations of his predecessors; he is more concerned with the relations of lines than of feet, and in this department (strophic) he was anticipated by Köster (1831). But broadly regarded, the *Dichter des Alten Bundes* is most stimulating and inspiring; it cannot be neglected by any faithful student of the literature of Hebrew metre.

Ernst Meier (1853), with his simple folk-lore theory, which measures all Hebrew poetry as it were with a two-foot rule, has received far less credit than he merits. His Suabian holiday-studies took him close to the very roots of all poetry

in nature and life. He brought to the investigation of our subject the simplicity of Bellermann without his stiffness. There was a genuine advance, not in kind but in degree, in the contribution he made; the naturalness and animation of his scansion have never been surpassed. Kuenen hesitates, it is true, about including Meier among the *Metriker* at all; but that is because Kuenen was wedded to the false equation, *metre* = quantitative *metre*.

With Julius Ley (1866-1903) we come to the most important name in the last fifty years of metrical development. No one has ever illustrated better than he the motto, 'Forgetting those things that are behind.' His first book, *The Metrical Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (1866), which centred about alliteration, was soon left behind and quite forgotten. His great book, *Leading Features of Hebrew Rhythm* (1875), contains many principles and illustrations which are still as useful as ever, but also these:—(1) Compensation; (2) substitution; (3) the octameter as the fundamental foot; (4) disregard of the falls in a verse. In 1887 he gave up the first and second of these; in 1900, the third and fourth. (The last date refers to the *composition* of his *Metre of Deutero-Isaiah*, which was published posthumously.) Every one of these subtractions was an addition; his system as he finally left it may challenge comparison with all others. It preserves the merits and avoids the defects of Bellermann and Meier.

Gustav Bickell (1878-94), 'to whose work we are far more indebted than to that of any other for our understanding of Hebrew metrics' (Duhm, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, article, 'Poetical Literature'), has produced a theory which is very attractive by its smoothness and simplicity, and which he has carried through the whole range of Old Testament poetry. Reduced to its simplest form, it is this: 'Every line of Hebrew poetry is either iambic or trochaic without varia-

tion ; whether this or that is decided by counting back from the final stress.'

But though the simplicity of the theory attracts, its violence to the text and its prosaic results repel ; in the course of a generation the repellent features have so predominated, that the system, once largely followed, is now almost everywhere discredited. Two of its features, however, represent permanent gains ; the emphasis laid on reckoning with the falls as well as the rises of a verse, and the accumulation of plausible emendations of the text ; this last offsetting the 'violence' just noted.

We come next to Hubert Grimme (1893-1903). I have passed over D. H. Müller and his *Responsions*, which do not seem to be in the line of ascent of our spiral, irregular though it be. I omit Budde and Köster for a different reason ; it is because in this concluding summary I am treating only of the authors of systems of Hebrew metre, and while the strophe, the cesura, and the *ḵinâ*-verse are important branches of the subject, which receive due attention in the body of the treatise, they do not extend over the whole ground.

Grimme is certainly one of the most learned, energetic, and prolific of the *Metriker*. Building avowedly on Ley's basis, he has sent out a transept which does not seem to stand on so firm a foundation. The system of *morae* would authenticate itself if it took in easily and assimilated the biblical material ; but in too many cases the material is warped to fit the system. One of its happiest results, however, was to suggest to Ley, as the latter acknowledges, the counting of the *theses* instead of the *morae*, which does not differ greatly from Sievers's plan in principle, though yielding different results. And inasmuch as Grimme makes no claim to have produced as yet a system that satisfies the requirements of the problem—a task, he believes, that requires the

co-operation of many labourers in different fields—we may look upon him as one of the most hopeful investigators in the whole department of Hebrew metrics.

The latest system is that of Sievers (1901). Its author has won great success in rhythmical researches outside the Semitic province. He is the first to take over, in a thoroughly workmanlike fashion, the varied problems of our subject into affiliation with general metrics. He has a clear eye for what is essential to a proper investigation of these problems, and he cuts off non-essentials with an unsparing hand. His own book is acknowledged on all hands to be a great book, abounding in principles clearly deduced and examples cleverly applied. But he has not yet attained to what has been called 'a self-denying and theory-denying hypothesis.'

Enamoured of his own creation, he too tampers with the text, 'protracting' or 'suspending' or 'diminishing' until it sometimes comes out as little recognizable as Bickell's Syriac-Hebrew. Sievers is a warm advocate of the 'freedom' of Hebrew poetry; may he stand fast in that liberty, and no longer be entangled in the yoke of uniformity. His system must pass through the fire and lose its wood, hay, and stubble; the pure gold that remains will be as valuable as that of any preceding system.

A consummation devoutly to be wished is the union of scholars like Grimme and Sievers on the platform of Ley's system, with his last improvements; the result would be of immense worth to biblical science. On the one hand, a profound acquaintance with general philology; on the other with Semitic philology. The one side would consent to sacrifice its exclusive anapaests, the other its cherished morae; but the 'theses' would compensate for the latter loss, and a new 'freedom' for the former.

The suggestion came to me independently; but I find

in Baentsch's review of Grimme's *Psalmenprobleme* (*Theologischer Jahresbericht*, 1903, vol. ii, p. 173) the following important sentence: 'With Sievers, whose system, as compared with the author's complicated morae-theory, points to a greater simplicity, Grimme has not yet come to terms, unfortunately.'

If some genuinely mediating investigator could bring the two schools into harmony, he would inherit the blessing pronounced on the peacemakers.

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APPENDIX

THE body of this treatise was completed in December, 1903. The third edition of Baethgen's Psalms, in Nowack's *Handkommentar* (1904), seems to call for a separate notice. For although the author gives in the Preface a half promise of a more technical work, which is to present a metrically arranged critical text of the Psalms, with as complete an apparatus as possible, he gives us meanwhile a metrical analysis of every psalm, much more available and helpful than those of Duhm and Grimme, since not only the leading metres but the variations under them are carefully noted. In fact, the chief difference between the third and the second edition of Baethgen's book is in these sections, and is due to the appearance of Sievers's *magnum opus*. To him Baethgen confesses his deep obligations, mingled with a touch of shame that a 'Nicht-Hebraist' should have to teach Old Testament Professors how to read Hebrew verses. For all that, he often takes issue with his master, and in the majority of cases he has to strike out independently; for as we have seen, Sievers glided over, without touching, all the real difficulties of the Psalter, while Duhm announced a solution in each case, but put in a general caveat in his Preface.

That these difficulties are still real, and abundant, even in Baethgen's own mind, is evident from the multitude of exceptions and qualifications in the course of the exposition. A reader whose eye is caught by the phrase which precedes

the detailed treatment of most of the psalms: 'Metre, double threes,' or 'fours,' or 'fives,' may suppose that at last we are approaching a scientific basis on which to erect the structure of all Hebrew poetry. But such hopes are grievously disappointed; for a closer scrutiny discovers the following among many similar statements:

Psalms 9, 10. 'I cannot make out a consistent metre. Sievers thinks the original psalm was in sevens; Ley in fours.'

Psalms 17. 'Although particular verses give the scheme 4 + 4, 4 + 3, 3 + 3, still I cannot recognize a regular, even though a mixed, metre.'

Psalms 20. 'The metre is impenetrable.'

Psalms 28. 'The metre can hardly be discovered. Ley takes vv. 2, 5, 9 for octameters, the rest for hexameters. Double threes mixed with sixes and single threes seem preferable to me, and even then we cannot avoid several alterations.'

Psalms 32. 'The metre shows single fours and double fours, and with these apparently sixes and threes. At present I must give up more precise indications.'

Thus far I have cited only from the first book of the Psalms. As the fifth book is the most regular of all, let us see how Baethgen meets the chief stumbling-blocks that arrested us in the three middle books. They were found in the following Psalms, and several others might have been included: 45, 55, 62, 64, 71, 75, 79, 83, 84, 86, 95, 102.

It is very interesting to note that in every case Baethgen recognizes, and remarks upon, the irregularities of these poems, now suggesting explanations, again confessing that the problem is too deep for him. By following him through, one gains a new conception of the immense improbability of Grimme's thesis, that each psalm preserves the same metre throughout. While I have duly acknowledged the

value of some of Grimme's 'emendations with the help of the Metre,' I can by no means accept his theory of a uniform rhythmical structure, which might be called 'Metre with the help of emendations.' The cautious path trodden by Baethgen seems better; and though it shows that we are still far from the goal, some approximation to concord is evident from the fact that Baethgen's analysis of the first ten psalms which are examined in Chapter I of this treatise agrees with my own in almost every detail. I proceed to quote his metrical comments on the twelve psalms from the three middle books which were just referred to, and then to compare, verse by verse, his measurements of Psalms 64 and 71 with those given in our Chapter I.

Psalm 45. 'Double fours are frequent, and with them sometimes single fours may be plainly recognized, especially vv. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 18 (if we elide וְעָר). Cf. also Ley, *ZATW.*, 1901, p. 343. In other verses I cannot perceive a definite metre. Accordingly, only the divisions of the sense are indicated in the translation.'

Psalm 55. 'Metre: mixed. At the beginning double fours (vv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 15) exchange with fives, which are almost exclusively employed in the second half of the psalm. Vv. 19 c, 24 e are single threes. Vv. 16, 18, 20 are dubious.'

Psalm 62. 'Metre: vv. 3, 7, 8, 9 a b, double threes; vv. 2, 4 b, 5 b, 6, 10 a, 12, 13, sixes; vv. 4 a, 5 a, 9 c, 10 b, single threes; ver. 11, an extraordinary double four.'

(My own scansion makes this psalm still more complex.)

Psalm 64. 'The original psalm appears to have been composed in regularly alternating double fours (vv. 2, 4, 6, 9, 11) and double threes (vv. 3, 5, 8, 10—though ver. 10 is a six-toned line). In 5 b פְּתָאֵם is superfluous, and probably inserted from ver. 8. In 6 b אִמְרוּ is not to be counted in the metre. The second לָמוּ, which is objectionable on account of style as well as metre, would better be dropped.

Ver. 7 appears—also on grounds of diction and contents—to have suffered a more serious corruption. We should expect here a double three and a double four, whose remnants are perhaps preserved in the present text of ver. 7.'

Psalm 71. 'Metre: double threes; vv. 3 c, 6 c, 15 c, single threes. After ver. 20 (19 c) no metre is recognizable. Here a very serious text corruption seems to be present; see the Commentary.'

Psalm 75. 'Metre: double threes; ver. 9, two sixes. In ver. 4 a, perhaps we should strike out כל as a gloss, in ver. 9 b, ישתי. On ver. 2, see the Commentary' (which is to this effect: following the LXX καὶ ἐπικαλεσόμεθα τὸ ὄνομά σου, I formerly proposed בשמך [for יְקִרְאִי יְקִרְאִי]. I still regard this textual alteration as essentially right. But since thereby the metre does not come to its rights, we are to assume a still further corruption).

Psalm 79. 'Metre: double threes; vv. 6 c, 9 c, 13 a, sixes; vv. 1 c, 2 c, 8 a, 13 b, single threes; vv. 11, 12, double fours. But often the lines seem to be too long or too short.'

Psalm 83. 'Metre: double threes; vv. 7, 13, sixes. Ver. 5 a is outside the metre. Some irregularities are perhaps to be removed thus: ver. 5 b, cancel עוד; ver. 10 b, כמדון (Duhm); ver. 12, נדיבמו; ver. 19, שמך and כל. Ver. 18 b, supply לעולם, or the like.'

Psalm 84. 'Metre: vv. 2-7 a b, 9 a b, fives; vv. 7 c, 9 c, 12 a, threes; vv. 8, 10, double threes; ver. 13, sixes; ver. 12 b c, double fours; ver. 11, a four and a seven. Probably the metre, from 7 c on, is variously disturbed. Ver. 3, read גם without !.'

Psalm 86. 'There are recognizable, among other metres, double fours, double threes, and sixes; but it is not in my power to reduce the whole psalm to a stable scheme.'

Psalm 95. 'Metre: double threes; ver. 7 a, sixes; ver. 7 b, a single three. In some places, disturbances of the metre seem to be present, which may be resolved in some such

way as this: ver. 3, strike out the second נדול; vv. 4, 5, strike out אשר; ver. 6, omit נברכה (LXX נִבְרָכָה) as variant to נברעה, or omit יהוה. Ver. 10: on metrical grounds, I now consider that two measures have fallen out after בדור; read something like סורר ומרה; cf. Deut. 32. 5.'

Psalm 102. 'Metre: double threes; vv. (3 a b?), 13, 17, 25 a, sixes; ver. 25 b is a three; vv. 24 b, 28 a, one measure is lacking; vv. 14, 16, 19, double fours; ver. 27 is not clear to me.'

In the two psalms which follow, I give first Baethgen's analysis, then my own.

Psalm 64.

Ver. 2.	4 + 4	4 + 4
3.	3 + 3	3 + 3
4.	4 + 4	4 + 3
5.	3 + 3	3 + 4
6.	4 + 4	4 + 3 + 3
7.	(Remnants of original 3 + 3 and 4 + 4)	
8.	3 + 3	2 + 2 + 2
9.	4 + 4	3 + 3
10.	2 + 2 + 2	5 + 2
11.	4 + 4	5 + 3

After the first two verses, there is no agreement between us. In order to carry through his theory of a regular alternation of eights and sixes, Baethgen drops the pictorial פתאם in ver. 5, and ends ver. 4 with the excruciating succession *dabhár már*, a perfect parallel to Horace's *-lus mus*. It is already plain that we cannot correct ver. 7 on the basis of an 'expected' 3 + 3 and 4 + 4. In ver. 9, the commentary does not explain the source of the two extra tones,

Psalm 71.

Ver. 1.	3 + 3	3 + 2
2.	3 + 3	3 + 4
3.	3 + 3 + 3	3 + 4 + 3
4.	3 + 3	4 + 3
5.	3 + 3	2 + 4
6.	3 + 3 + 3	3 + 4 + 3
7.	3 + 3	3 + 2
8.	3 + 3	3 + 2
9.	3 + 3	4 + 4
10.	3 + 3	3 + 4
11.	3 + 3	3 + 4
12.	3 + 3	3 + 3
13.	3 + 3	4 + 5
14.	3 + 3	3 + 3
15.	3 + 3 + 3	5 + 3
16.	3 + 3	4 + 3
17.	3 + 3	3 + 3
18.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 + 3 \\ 3 + 3 \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \vphantom{\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 + 3 \\ 3 + 3 \end{array} \right.}} \right\} 5 + 3 + 3$
19.	3 + 3 + 3	3 + 4
20.	(uncertain)	5 + 2 + 4
21.	„	2 + 2
22.	„	5 + 5
23.	„	4 + 3
24.	„	4 + 4

Neglecting the 'uncertain' verses, the coincidences in the rest are only three out of nineteen. But I am now inclined to surrender vv. 3, 15, and 19, and make them (with Baethgen) 3 + 3 + 3. Yet it is surely wrong to hurry vv. 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13 into the time which he assigns to them. Moreover, vv. 1, 7, 8 are more naturally fives, as I have called them. This being granted, there is no preponderance

of the 3 + 3 movement, and so no sufficient justification for such arguments as these :

‘Verse 5: אֲדָנִי should be drawn to 5 a on account of the metre.’

‘Verse 10: יָחִיד is to be elided on account of the metre.’

‘Verses 13 a and b: Each part has a superfluous beat. Strike out יָכֵלוּ . . . and וּכְלָמָה.’

‘Verse 18: Perfect parallelism of members is gained if לָכֵל is struck out as a gloss or variant to לָדוּר, and the latter is drawn to 18 b.’

On a review of the subject, I am more and more convinced of the soundness of Bellermann’s judgement, as expressed in the general statements already quoted in greater part :

‘Many Hebrew verses are alike in their feet, and even in their syllabic value ; but there is probably not a single long poem with always equal, precisely corresponding poetic feet. And in so far we cannot compare the Hebrew poems with the odes of Horace, &c., though we may compare them with the free choruses of the ancient Greeks, with the iambi of Plautus and Terence, and especially with the cantatas of the moderns, where arias, recitatives, choruses, &c. occur in interchange. The Hebrew poet looked more to the succession of his thoughts than to the arrangement of his feet, and so we find many acatalectic and hypercatalectic verses.’

The conclusion of the whole matter is in Budde’s words (*DB.*, article ‘Hebrew Poetry’), which I adopt as my own :

‘The present writer . . . has no finished metrical system to offer, nor can he attach himself unreservedly to any of the others that have been proposed, although he cheerfully concedes that to each of the above-named champions of metre we are indebted for much stimulus and help.’

July, 1904.

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